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کتاب هفت باب

بسعی اقلّ العباد ایوانف

در مطبع مظفّری مقیم بمبئی

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دیباچه

پوشیده نماند که این کتاب مستطاب مسمّی به هفت باب مجموعهٔ ایست مفید که مریدانِ طائفهٔ ناجیهٔ اسماعیلیهٔ نزاریه آن را نیز بکلام پیر موسوم می کنند و آن را یکی از مصنّفاتِ حضرت حجّتِ خراسان و بدخشان ابومعین ناصرخسرو بلخی می شمارند و طالبانِ راهِ دین و مریدانِ حق الیقین این کتاب را در کمال احترام و اعتبار دارند الحق کتابی است مملو از حکمتِ حکمای قدیم و از عشقِ عاشقانِ آن دُرِ یتیم، الحال بتفضّلِ حضرتِ ذوالجلال و توجّه اربابِ کمال بزیورِ طبع رسید تا کافهٔ انام از خواص و عوام مستفید و مستفیض شوند

امّا راقمِ این سطور بعرضِ صاحبانِ تمیز و شعور می رساند که اگرچه نسبتِ این رساله به حضرت ناصرخسرو داده اند و در بابِ اوّل شرحِ حالِ آن حضرت بیان شده ولیکن اگر بنظرِ تحقیق و تعمّق ملاحظه کنیم از مضمونِ این کتاب معلوم و معیّن می شود که حضرت ناصرخسرو بلخی یعنی آن شخصی که بمصر مسافرت نمود و بحجّت خراسان ملقّب شد و دیوانِ اشعار مشهور و کتابها مثل وَجهِ دین و زادالمسافرین و سفرنامه و روشنائی نامه وغیرہم از تصانیفِ جنابِ معظّم له است و تقریباً در سنه ۴۸۰ هجری این دارِ فانی را وداع کرد مصنّفِ این کتاب هفت باب

نمی تواند بود، سبب آن است که در ضمنِ کتاب هفت باب اسمِ بسیار کتابها واشخاص مذکوراست که چند صد سال بعداز وفاتِ ناصرخسرو بظهور رسیده مثلاً ذکرحضرت مولانا حسن عَلیٰ ذِکْرِهِ السّلام و دعوتِ قیامة القیامات وغیره، واسمای کتب مشهوره چندین جا ذکر شده مثل کتاب روضة التسلیم که از تصانیفِ خواجه نصیرالدّین طوسی علیه الرّحمة است که در سنه شش صد و پنجاه کمابیش نوشته شد وهمچنین کتاب عمدة الطّالب فی انساب آل علی ابن ابی طالب که تقریباً در سنه ۸۰۰ هجری تصنیف شده، وکتاب لطائف الطّوائف از تصنیفاتِ علی ابن حسین واعظ کاشفی که بعداز سنه ۹۳۳ هجری تصنیف شده وغیرهم و دریک جائی خود مصنّف می گوید که اززمانِ غیبت امام دوازدهم فرقهٔ امامیهٔ اثنا عشریه یعنی از سنه ۲۶۰ هجری تا زمانِ خودش از پانصد سال بیشتر گذشت، وازاینجا معلوم می شود که خودش تقریباً در سنه ۸۰۰ یا دیرتر بوده، وغیرازین دلائل بسیاراست که بدقّت درمقدمهٔ انگلیزی ذکر شد

ودر بابِ اوّل شرحِ حالِ حضرت ناصرخسرو بطوری ذکر نموده است که گویا نویسنده خود ناصرخسرو بوده، ولی بنظرِ حقیر کلّیةً خیالی و بی اصل است و بعضی عباراتش ظاهراً ازهمان کتاب نقل کرده است که مصنّف تذکرهٔ آتشکدهٔ آذر اشاره بآن نموده وآن عاری ازحقیقت افسانهٔ محض است، بطوری که خود حضرت ناصرخسرو در دیوانِ اشعار وسفرنامهٔ خویش ذکر می کند جناب ایشان سیّد نبوده وازخراسان ازشهر قبادیان درحوالیِ بلخ بوده، ولیکن اینجا در بابِ اوّل مذکوراست که او اهل دیلم وحیدراباد بوده وازاولادِ حضرت موسی کاظم ابنِ امام جعفرصادق

علیه السلام بود' و این یقیناً خیالی است' و بعد از این نوشته است که جناب ایشان با معیت حضرت باباسیدنا یعنی حسن ابن صباح بخدمتِ مولانا مستنصر بالله رسیده و بعضی مذاکرت نموده اند' وضمناً حضرت حسن بن صباح را جدِ خود ش خطاب می کند' و این مسئله بکلی بی اصل و خالی از حقیقت است زیرا که حضرت ناصر خسرو در کتابهای معتبرِ خود ذکر می کند که مشار الیه در تاریخ هفتم ماه صفر سنه ۴۳۹ هجری وارد مصر شده وازتواریخ معتبره مستفاد می شود که حضرت حسن بن صباح در سنه ۴۷۰ هجری یعنی سی و یک سال بعد از ورود ناصر خسرو بمصر رسیده' و معاندین ایشان مانع شده نگذاشتند که بخدمت حضرت مولانا مستنصر باللہ برسد' پس از مدتی از عداوت ایشان کار بجائی رسید که مجبور شدند مصر را ترک نموده مهاجرت اختیار کردند' پس بخوبی معلوم می شود که ایشان باهم بمصر وارد نشده و مذاکرات با مولانا مستنصر بالله هم بکلی بی اصل است' و معلوم است که تولد حضرت ناصر خسرو در سنه ۳۹۴ ھ بوده و حضرت حسن بن صباح تقریباً در سنه ۴۵۰ هجری متولد شده اند و پنجاه و شش سال کوچک تر از حضرت ناصر خسرو بوده اند پس چگونه ممکن است که جدِ ایشان باشند' پس این همه یقیناً باطل و افسانهٔ محض است

واز وضعِ عباراتِ این کتاب معلوم می شود که آن از عبارات و اصطلاحات دیوان اشعار و سفرنامه و وجهِ دین و زاد المسافرین تفاوتِ کلّی دارد و عبارا تش جدید است

بنابراین مقدمات هیچ شکّی باقی نمی ماند که کتاب هفت باب از تصنیفات

حضرت ناصر خسرو نیست، و سبب این همه مغلطه و اشتباه کاری شاید آن بوده که شخصِ فاضلی در اوائلِ عهدِ سلاطینِ صفویه مندرجات این کتاب را از کتابهای قدیم طائفۀ اسماعیلیه انتخاب و جمع آوری نموده و از برای ازدیادِ احترام و اعتبار کتاب خودش آن را باسمِ حضرت ناصر خسرو اشتهار داده، و یا آنکه شخصی این کتاب را در عهدِ امامتِ حضرت مولانا مستنصر بالله ثانی که حضرتش یکی از ائمۀ نزاریه بودند و زمانِ امامتشان از سنه ۸۶۹ تا سنه ۸۸۱ هجری بوده و خودشان مصنف کتاب پندیات جوان مردی می باشند تألیف و تصنیف نموده و اسمِ خود را ذکر نکرده، بعد بمرور ایّام مردمانِ ساده چنین تصوّر نمودند که این کتاب در زمانِ حضرت مولانا مستنصر بالله اوّل تألیف شده و چون حضرت ناصر خسرو در مصر بخدمت مولانا مشرّف شدند قیاساً نسبت تألیف این کتاب را بایشان داده اند.

و بعضی از دوستان میگویند که اصل این کتاب از حضرت ناصر خسرو است و لیکن بعضی مریدان در موقع استقرا و استنساخ کم و زیاد کردند و از مضامین کتابهای دیگر مخلوط نمودند، و این مطلب امکان ندارد، راقمِ این سطور پنج نسخۀ کتاب هفت باب را ملاحظه نموده که هر کدام در یک ولایتی و یک زمانی نوشته شده بود، و لیکن مضمون و عین عبارات همۀ آنها بکلّی موافقِ یکدیگر بود حتّی آنکه اگر غلطی یا سهوی در یکی از نسخها رفته بود در نسخ دیگر هم پیدا بود، و ممکن نیست که موافقتِ چندین نسخه بعد از کم و زیاد کردن اشخاص مختلف در وجود آید، و این خلافِ عقل و خلافِ عادت است که کتابی را که آن را کلام پیر

می شمارند وخیلی محترم می دارند هرکس بمیلِ خودش کم وزیاد کند، پس چرا این قبیل اتفاقات درکتابهای دیگر نیافتاده است، مثلاً نسخهٔ کتاب وجه دین بنظرِ راقم این سطور رسیده است که در سنه ۹۲۹ هجری یعنی قریب ۴۲۵ سال قبل از این نوشته شده بود ابداً مغایرتی با نسخ حالیه ندارد، پس چرا در این مدّت کسی پیدا نشد که آن را بخیالِ خود تغییر دهد

واز مضمونِ این کتاب معلوم می شود که مصنّفش از اخبار وکتبِ امامیّهٔ اثنا عشریه اطّلاع کاملی داشته ولیکن ذکرِ کتبِ قدیم اسماعیلیه را ابداً نمی کند، و در کتابهای حضرت ابومعین ناصرخسرو مثل زاد المسافرین معلوم می شود که جنابِ ایشان از کتابهای اسماعیلی خبر وافری داشته و از کتبِ اثنا عشریه کمتر ذکر فرموده‌اند، واز این همه حالات مفهوم می شود که تصنیفِ این کتاب در زمانی بوده که تعلیمِ مذهبِ اثنا عشری کاملاً منتشر شده بود یعنی در زمانِ پادشاهانِ صفویه

و در طبع این کتاب بمشکلات بسیار برخوردیم چونکه در شهرِ بمبئی چند نسخهٔ آن در دستِ بعض اشخاص بود ولیکن از دادنِ آن خودداری می کردند، فقط آقای مُکهی محمد میر از برای خدمت بادین وجماعت کوتاهی نکردند ونسخهٔ خودشان را که در سنه ۱۲۱۹ نوشته شده برای استنساخ دادند، واگرچه نسخهٔ مذکور خوب است لیکن در بعض جاها بواسطهٔ رطوبت وکِرم ضایع شده وبعض اوراقِ آن افتاده، وبعد از آنکه این کتاب بچاپ رسید نسخهٔ دیگر کاملی پیدا

شد ولی افسوس که تصحیح کردنِ این نسخه بعد از چاپ شدن صورتِ امکان نداشت، ولیکن خوشبختانه پس از مقابلهٔ این دو نسخه معلوم شد که اوراقی که مفقود شده ابداً اهمیتی ندارند زیرا که در آن اوراق غیر از لعنتِ اعدای حضرتِ مولا و ائمهٔ اظهار چیز دیگر مندرج نبود، و شرح حال آن اشخاص در کتابهای قدیم و جدید بسیار است و تکرار آنها باعثِ ملال می شود .

کتاب هفت باب

بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم

اَلْحَمْدُ لِلّٰهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِینَ وَالْعَاقِبَةُ لِلْمُتَّقِینَ وَالصَّلٰوةُ وَالسَّلَامُ عَلٰی رَسُولِهٖ مُحَمَّدٍ وَّآلِهٖ اَجْمَعِینَ الطَّیِّبِینَ الطَّاهِرِینَ وَوَصِیِّهٖ وَعَلٰی ذُرِّیَّتِهٖ اَبَدَ الْآبِدِینَ وَدَهْرَ الدَّاهِرِینَ بنامِ صاحب الزمان و ترجمان الرحمن اَعْلَی اللّٰهُ کَلِمَتَهٗ وَوَفَّقَ اِطَاعَتَهٗ شکر و سپاس پروردگاری را که لمعهٔ اشراق نور تأیید او عقل کل را بنور معرفت خود بینا و گویا و شنوا گردانید تا اسرار موجودات و حقائق ممکنات را بدید و بشناخت و بر فرشتگان امین و داعیانِ راهِ دین روشن و هویدا کرد و او را بر عالم و عالمیان حجت ساخت تا بسطوتِ قهاریِ ندای جباری گردن‌کشانِ عالم و گمراه کنندگانِ بنی آدم را بسر نیزهٔ قدرت بر هوا کرد و در پای بندگانِ ضعیفِ خود انداخت، بحکمِ قرآن شریف و حدیثِ نبوی چنانچه خداوند فرموده که آمَنَ بِاللّٰهِ وَمَلَائِکَتِهٖ وَکُتُبِهٖ وَرُسُلِهٖ وَالْیَوْمِ الْآخِرِ[1] یعنی ایمان آوردن است بخدا و بملائکهٔ او و بکتابهای او و بر سولانِ او و بروزِ آخر، و روزِ آخر علی و اولادش را خواست که خداوند سزاوار یگانه الحیّ القیّوم تواند بود که ظهور و اظهار سترِ نطفهٔ لطیفهٔ عالمِ امری و خلقی دایمی بدوست، و منقطع نبوده بنا بودن نقطهٔ نطفهٔ امامت که سترِ نبوت از اوست، چنانچه پیغمبر علیه السلام فرموده که قال النبیّ علیه السّلام والیه یَرجِعُ الامرُ وکُلُّ کشفٍ لولا[3] امامت را

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[1] ظاهراً از آیهٔ ۲۸۵ از سورة البقره (2) [2] ظاهراً از آیه ۱۳۵ از سورة النساء (4)

[3] این حدیث ظاهراً ناتمام است

بنهج و بروایت حجتان عصر او پذیرد، و سرّ امامت بعطای ابر شهود و عفت ماموران و تابعان او پدید گردد و برحمت وَاللّٰهُ يَعْلَمُ سِرَّكُمْ وَجَهْرَكُمْ وَيَعْلَمُ مَا تَكْسِبُونَ[1] هر بنده بمقتضای لَهَا مَا كَسَبَتْ وَعَلَيْهَا مَا اكْتَسَبَتْ[2] آنچه مستحق باشد بنده شود اَللّٰهُمَّ وَفِّقْنَا مَا تُحِبُّ وَتَرْضَىٰ

و درود بی قیاس مرحجّت خدای تعالیٰ محمّد مصطفیٰ صلّی اللّٰه علیه و آله وسلّم را که مهتر و بهتر انبیا بود تا اسب نطق را در میدان بلاغت بتاخت و مردم را بیم و اُمید بداد تا ایشان را از ظلمت جهل و گمراهی بدر آورده و بنور معرفت خدا با خدا رساند و بشاه راه صراط المستقیم واصل و متواصل ساخت وَيُطَهِّرَكُمْ تَطْهِيرًا[3] قوله تعالیٰ اِنَّ اللّٰهَ اصْطَفٰىٓ اٰدَمَ وَنُوحًا وَّاٰلَ اِبْرٰهِيمَ وَاٰلَ عِمْرٰنَ عَلَى الْعٰلَمِينَ ذُرِّيَّةً بَعْضُهَا مِنْ بَعْضٍ وَاللّٰهُ سَمِيعٌ عَلِيمٌ[4] وَاللّٰهُ اَظْهَرَ عَلَى الْاَرْضِ دَعْوَتَهُ مِنْ وَرَاءِ حِجَابٍ اَحْسَنَ اللّٰهُ اَحْوَالَهُ

که بکرات برادران و رفیقان که طالب دعوت هادیه بودند از بندهٔ ضعیف ائمّه معصومین التماس نمودند قوله تعالیٰ اِنَّمَا اَنْتَ مُنْذِرٌ وَلِكُلِّ قَوْمٍ هَادٍ[5] وچون این کمترین بندگان دعوت هادیهٔ مهدیهٔ اسماعیلیه ثَبَّتَهَا اللّٰهُ فِي مَشَارِقِ الْاَرْضِ وَمَغَارِبِهَا خدای تعالیٰ بعنایت ازلی و هدایت لم ازلی منظور نظر خود کناد و از میان گمراهان و جماعت بی راهان بیرون آوراد و از شیاطین وقت که دجّالان روزگار اند یعنی آنهائیکه بظاهر سخنان انبیا و دعات بایستادند و همچون ستوران بکاه و برگ قانع شدند و از درجهٔ انسانی بدرجهٔ حیوانی افتادند که قوله تعالیٰ اِلَّا كَالْاَنْعَامِ بَلْ هُمْ اَضَلُّ سَبِيلًا[6] رها کناد بعد از شکر و ثنا و حمد این معنی را

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۱ آیه ۳ از سورة الانعام (6) ۲ از آیه ۲۸۶ از سورة البقرة (2) ۳ از آیهٔ ۳۳ از سورة الاحزاب (33)
۴ آیه ۳۰ از سورة آل عمران (3) ۵ از آیهٔ ۸ از سورة الرعد (13) ۶ از آیهٔ ۴۴ از سورة الفرقان (25)

شکسته و بسته مشتمل بر چگونگی آنچه از طریق طائفهٔ محقّان روزگار معلوم کرده ام بیان کنم تا جماعتِ مؤمنان وضعیفان و مستجیبان را مددِ راه گردد، و این کمترین بندگان را بدعای خیر یاد کنند و مددِ توفیق از بارگاهِ حضرتِ خداوند روزگار و عالمیان و آفریدگار انس و جان جلّت قدرته وعزّت کلمته طلبند اِنّه خَیْرَ الموفِّق والمُعین وهوحسبنا وکفیٰ مولانا

و این رساله مشتمل است بر هفت باب، باب اوّل در بیان احوالِ خود و چگونگی رسیدن باین طائفهٔ محقّهٔ اسماعیلیه، باب دوّیم در بازنمودن بطلان مذاهبِ هفتاد و دو فرقه، باب سیّم در بازنمودن آنکه در عالم بجز این فرقه ناجیه نیستند و طریقِ حق با ایشان است، باب چهارم در بازنمودن معنیِ نبوّت و وصایت و تنزیلِ قرآن و تأویلِ آن گویم بتوفیقِ خدای تعالیٰ، باب پنجم در بازنمودنِ معنیِ امامت و دَوْرِ ستر وکشف و معنیِ قیامت قیامات، باب ششم در بازنمودنِ عالمِ روحانی و جسمانی و مبدأ و معاد و بیانِ مراتب از مستجیب تا امام، باب هفتم در بازنمودنِ بعضی از تأویلات و فوائد متفرّقه و سرِّ وضع این رساله بر هفت باب و شمّهٔ از آفاق و انفس با یکدیگر

و آنچه از این کلمات حقّ واضح و صدق لائح باشد آن باشد که حضرت مولانا جلّت جلالته وعزّ ذکره بر زبانِ این بنده براند، و آنچه العیاذ بالله غیر واقع باشد آن ابتلای و امتحان در راهِ این فقیر بود وَمَا اَصَابَكَ مِنْ حَسَنَةٍ فَمِنَ اللهِ وَمَا اَصَابَكَ مِنْ سَيِّئَةٍ فَمِنْ نَفْسِكَ[۱]

مولانا همهٔ بندگان خود را یاری و توفیق دینِ حقّ کرامت و عنایت کناد و روی

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[۱] آیهٔ ۸۱ از سورة النّساء (4)

دل ایشان را از بدی و ناشایستگی بگرداناد و همه را بنور معرفت عقل کل بینا و شنوا
و روشن دل داراد، واته خیر الموفق والمعین

باب اوّل در بیان احوال این کمترین بندگان دعوت هادیهٔ مهدیهٔ اسماعیلیه،

اذا اراد الله شیئاً هیّأ اسبابه، احوالِ این بنده آن بود که چون دانستم
دست راست خود را از دستِ چپ خود دلِ من مشغول شد بانواع علوم و تحصیلِ
کمالات تا که مشرّف شدم بخط کتابِ الٰهی و سترِ سماوی که فرموده است بر
پیغمبرِ ما علیه السّلام یعنی قرآن شریف، در تمام سنّ نُه سالگی، بعده مشغول شدم
با دبیات همچون مهین لغت و اصناع و صرف و اشتقاق برسالات و استیفا
تا مدّت پنج سال، بعده مشغول شدم و اشتغال نمودم بعلمِ نجوم و علم رمل و علم
اقلیدس و علم مجسطی و علم مساحت و لطائف

چون در تحصیلِ علم شدم نهصد تفسیر بنظر در آوردم بمطالعه و خواندن ضبط نمودم
و دلِ من مشغول شد بانواع علوم و تحصیلِ کمالات، و از دیارِ دیلمان و مضافات
حیدرآباد بیرون شدم برای جهان گشتن و تحصیلِ علمِ باطن، و دیارِ مصر و روم و
هند و یونان و بابل در مدّت سی سال بگشتم، بعده مشغول شدم بعلمِ فقه و
اخبارِ حضرت رسول علیه السّلام و تفاسیر معروف ناسخ و منسوخ و تمام آیاتِ امر
و نهی و حلال و حرام و وجوهِ قراءتِ کلام الله باختلافِ اهل شهرها و بلادها، و یافتم
کتابِ امام محمّد باقر علیه السّلام یکی کشف کبیر و یکی جامع کبیر، و همچنین کتاب شامل
و رقعهٔ که جدّم امام علی بن موسی رضا گفته بود بیافتم در میان کتابهای امام محمّد بن
حسن عسکری، و خواندم کتابهای که در این روزها در میانِ مردم شامل بود، و بعد از آن

بدانستن کتب اربعه شروع کردم یعنی توریتِ موسیٰ و انجیلِ عیسیٰ و زبورِ داود و صحفِ ابراهیم علیه السّلام که کلامِ خداوند تعالی است بر عالمیانِ آن عصر، اوّل شمر قیس، دویم سیحورانس، سیم بطلیموس الاصغر یهودانی دریافتم و ضبط کردم، و این شش سال دیگر گذشت، و بعد از آن چون گردانیدم بعلم ایمان و اسلام و شرائع و مذهب در ضمیر و باطن خود مشغول شدم بحکمت و منطق و احکامِ آلهی و طبیعی و قانون اعظم و طبّ و علم سیاست و اشکال مائه، ترجمه

در جهان علم نماند ست که نخواندم او را   هم ز توریت و ز انجیل و زبور و فرقان

هفتاد و دو سال فکر کردم شب و روز، معلومم شد که هیچ معلوم نشد، چهار حج گذاردیم، دو حجِّ اکبر یکی حج بیت معمور و یکی حج عمره، و جمیع مال خود را در آن راه بفقیران و مساکین خرج کردم، و در مدّتِ حیاتِ خود هرگز افطار نکردم و صائم الدّهر بودم، و در سفر و در حضر روی من هیچ احدی ترش و گرفته نبودی الّا آنکه روی خود بر جمیع نرم و گشاده داشته ام، و هیچ مذهب را بد نگفته ام بلکه هیچ صاحبِ مذهب را ببدی یاد نکرده ام الّا اهل تضادّ و مذهب کذب را، بلکه هیچ احدی را بد نگفته ام، و بعده احوالِ این بنده آن بود که درسنِّ تمیز در آمدم و در باطن طلب خداشناسی و خداپرستی غالب بود بحکم مَنْ عَرَفَ نَفْسَهُ فَقَدْ عَرَفَ رَبَّهُ وَكُلُّ مَوْلُودٍ يُوْلَدُ عَلَى الْفِطْرَةِ[1] چنان غلبه میکرد که گاه گاه از بی طاقتی سر در کوه و صحرا نهادمی و از کسانی که بحسب صورت مقارنتی نداشتند نزدیک می پنداشتم و سؤال میکردم، ایشان طلب علوم ظاهری را دلالت می کردند چند بحکم اَبَوَاهُ يُهَوِّدَانِهِ اَوْيُنَصِّرَانِهِ، فی الجمله مدّتی در تحصیل آن میکوشیدم و هر نَفَس آتشِ دل میجوشید که هیچگونه راه

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[1] در نسخهٔ اصل علیٰ فطرة داعیة نوشته است،

بمقصود نمی بردم و نشان از معبود نمی یافتم، تا آن مقداری که در حوصلهٔ اہلِ زمان بود از طریقِ علوم ظاہر حاصل شد جان از بی حاصلی نعرهٔ وَاحَسرتا و دل از فریاد وااسفا برگرفت و برعمر بباد رفته وای می خوردم و گاه جان فرسوده ام بلب آمدی که یاری جوید و گاه دل خون گشته در دیده آمدی که کناری جوید و از مردم کرانه[1] جوید القصه بهر بهانه بی سر شدم و در تفکّر آنکه انبیا بچه کار آمده اند و از که خبر داده اند و بمعرفتِ که حواله کرده اند و تخم محبّتِ که در دل و جان کاشته اند و صانع مصنوعات و پدید آرندهٔ موجودات کیست، و علّت غایتی در ایجادِ مکنونات چیست، و چون از جنسِ هر موجودی نوع عزیز است و از آن نوع شخص شریف تر بود چنانکه از سباع شیر و از طیور باز و از جواهر یاقوت و همچنین همه موجودات، پس امروز اشرف اشخاص انسان کیست و معرفتِ او چگونه حاصل توان کرد و از مضیق جهل که دوزخ حقیقی است بفضای علم که بهشت جاودانی است بتعلیم که شاید رسیدن و این خبری که از همه عالم بیگانه است از کدام آشنا توان پرسید، بیت

هزار خویش که بیگانه از خدا باشد فدای یک تنِ بیگانه کآشنا باشد

و این راه خداشناسی راهی نیست که بقدم عقلِ جزوی و قیاس بدان توان رسید، و عقل اثباتِ آن می کند که راه بی تعلیم نتوان سپرد بقیاس چه اگر این طریق بقیاس عقل جزوی توان رفت امّا طریق عقل آنکه اگر این بقیاس و عقل یابند پنهان نیست که بیشتر عقول سرکشی می کند از آنکه تابع عقل دیگری شود و محکوم عقل دیگری، و هر قیاس که کند هم بعقل خود می کند، پس لازم آید که هر کس را طریق معرفتی مخالف طریق آن دیگری باشد، پس خدائی که این کس بعقل خود راه بآن برده است

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[1] یعنی کناره

غیر آن دیگر است و خدایان بسیار پیدا شوند و فساد این ظاهر تر از آن است که بشرح حاجت داشته باشد

بنا براین مقدمات واجب شد که همه عقل در معرفتِ باری تعالیٰ تابع عقلی باشند که اکمل از همه عقول باشد و مؤیّد باشد از طرفِ باری تعالیٰ و بی واسطهٔ او هیچ عقل بمعرفتِ باری تعالیٰ نرسد و او عقل کل باشد و کلّ عقول در تحتِ تصرّفِ او باشند و او حجّتِ خدای تعالیٰ باشد، و بر خلق واجب است که او را بدانند، و او در هر زمانی باشد، اگر در بعضی زمان نباشد حجّتِ خدای تعالیٰ از خلق گسیخته باشد و همان رای و قیاس درمیان اُفتد و هیچ کس راه با خدای تعالیٰ بحقیقت نبرد و در گمراهی و ضلالت بمانند

و در قصّهٔ آدم و حوّا و ابلیس علیه اللّعنة می آید که قوله تعالیٰ وَعَلَّمَ آدَمَ الْأَسْمَاءَ كُلَّهَا ثُمَّ عَرَضَهُمْ عَلَى الْمَلَائِكَةِ[1] و گفتند ملائکه که لَا عِلْمَ لَنَا إِلَّا مَا عَلَّمْتَنَا[2] و تعلیم کردن آدم مر ملائکه را که أَنْبِئْهُمْ بِأَسْمَائِهِمْ[3] و قصّهٔ که وَإِذْ قُلْنَا لِلْمَلَائِكَةِ اسْجُدُوا لِآدَمَ فَسَجَدُوا إِلَّا إِبْلِيسَ و نور پاک حق سبحانه و تعالیٰ را که قوله تعالیٰ كَانَ مِنَ الْجِنِّ فَفَسَقَ عَنْ أَمْرِ رَبِّهِ[4] پس در اصل او بوده است از جنّ چرا که در امر خویش سرکشی کرد و به نورِ و سجده نکرد، رانده ازلی و ابدی شد، پس همان نور بحکم خدای تعالیٰ در عالم هست و آدم گناه کرد و بازگشت بسوی خدای تعالیٰ رَبَّنَا ظَلَمْنَا أَنْفُسَنَا[5] گفت توبهٔ او را حق تعالیٰ پذیرفت، و بعد از گناه کردن آدم تعلیم کردن حق سبحانه و تعالیٰ مر او را سه کلمه داد که در طاقِ عرش نوشته بودند که لَا إِلٰهَ إِلَّا اللّٰهُ و محمّد رسول الله

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[1] آیهٔ ۲۹ از سورة البقرة (2) [2] از آیهٔ ۳۰ از همان سورة البقرة [3] از آیهٔ ۳۱ همان سورة [4] آیه ۴۸ از سورة الکهف (18) [5] آیهٔ ۲۲ از سورة الاعراف (7)

و انّ امیرالمؤمنین علیاً ولیّ الله و فاطمة بنت رسول الله بدان توبهٔ او پذیرفت، پس دانسته شد که اینها همه بتعلیم است و از آن قیاس آنکه از حکایت ابلیس لعنه الله می آید خَلَقْتَنِي مِنْ نَارٍ وَخَلَقْتَهُ مِنْ طِينٍ[۱] چون او را امر سجدهٔ آدم کرد و او از آن سر باز کشید و قیاس کرد و گفت که من از جنس آتشم و او از جنس خاک، و جوهر آتش شریف تر است از خاک و شریف تابع غیر شریف نشود أَوَّلُ مَنْ قَاسَ إِبْلِيسُ لعنه الله و گفت سجده مر خدای راست، و این سبب لعنت ابدی او شد قوله تعالیٰ فَاخْرُجْ مِنْهَا فَإِنَّكَ رَجِيمٌ وَإِنَّ عَلَيْكَ لَعْنَتِي إِلَىٰ يَوْمِ الدِّينِ[۲]

باز آمدیم بر سر حکایت، دانسته شد که هیچ ندانسته ایم امّا چون عجز و اضطرار بدرجهٔ بی نهایتی انجامید که دایم بر زبان این رفتی و در دل و جان این معنی گذشتی که أَمَّنْ يُجِيبُ الْمُضْطَرَّ إِذَا دَعَاهُ[۳] آفتاب عنایت مرحمت حضرت مولانا لِذِكْرِهِ السُّجُودُ وَالتَّسْبِيحُ از اُفق کرمت بتافت و این ذرّهٔ سرگشته را در هوای محبّت خود دریافت، روزی در مجلسی حاضر بودم و در احوال همگنان ناظر کلمهٔ چند در معرفت بر هر زبان رفتی و هر کس از راه و روش خود سخن براندازهٔ فهم خود گفتندی مرا آه سرد از جان برآمد و اشک گرم بر رخسارم فرو دوید که آیا اینها چه آهن سرد فرو می کوبند و در پی چه می پویند و مطلوب حقیقی را چرا نمی جویند، تا کی از پی خیالِ خود روند و بحکم خدای تعالیٰ نگردند و بحکم وَكُلَّ شَيْءٍ أَحْصَيْنَاهُ فِي إِمَامٍ مُبِينٍ[۴] بطلب او برنخیزند، عقل از این غصّه سرگردان و من حیران و صبرم منهزم که ناگاه شخصی درآمد و درمیانهٔ این طائفه بنشست، هر چند بصورت معلوم نبود امّا صورتِ او خبر از سیرت میداد، چون نظرم بر او افتاد بتفحّص

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[۱] آیه ۱۱ از سورة الاعراف (7) [۲] آیه ۷۸ و ۷۹ از سورهٔ ص (38) [۳] از آیهٔ ۶۳ از سورة النمل (27)
[۴] از آیهٔ ۱۱ از سورهٔ یس (36)

احوالِ او شدم و نظر بمقالاتِ او داشتم؛ الحق سخنی چند فرمودند که نشان از آبِ زندگانی و خبر از حیاتِ جاودانی میداد؛ دلم گفت چون سرِ رشته را یافتی مگذار و قدم در راهِ طلب نه و دست در دامنِ اقبالِ او زن؛ بیت

دست مدار از کمرِ مقبلان　　سر مکش از صحبتِ صاحبدلان

چون از آن مجلس برخاستم دامنِ او را بگرفتم و سر از قدمش برنداشتم؛ گفتم ای مرد فرشته خوی نامِ تو چیست و عادت تو چیست و روشِ تو چیست؛ بیمارم و دل افکارم و محتاجِ علاجم؛ دردِ خود را دوا می جویم و بیماریم عجب است نه دردِ سر و نه رنج و نه تب؛ چارهٔ ندارم بر زمین کز آسمان آمده است؛ چون نشانِ بیماری بر چهرهٔ زردم بدید بر دردِ من دوا بخشید و گفت دل خوش دار که ما طبیبانِ الٰهیم و از کس مزد نمی خواهیم که ما آبِ روانیم نه طعام پلیدیم؛ امّا بگو که بیماریِ تو از چیست؛ گفتم بیماریِ من از آن است که چون خدا یکیست و پیغمبر یکی باشد پس آن امامانِ دیگر و دینِ ایشان باطل و ناحق باشد؛ گفت بلی چنین است و امامِ حق و دینِ حق و حجّتِ حق یکیست و کلامِ حق یکی و نامِ من باباسیدناست و ما را در این جزیره نصب کرده اند تا سرگشتگانِ بادیهٔ ضلالت را بدر آوریم و بمعرفتِ امامِ وقت جلّ ذکره و حجّتِ اعظمِ او بینا و شنوا کنیم و همه را در دارِ آخرت به بهشتِ باقی برسانیم؛

وچون مدّتی در خدمتِ او بودم تا سعادت مساعد شد و باستان بوسیِ خداوند داورِ عالم حجّتِ اعظم خدای تعالٰی پروردگارِ عالم و عالمیان آنکه خدای عالمیان در شانِ او خبر داده که اَوّلُ مَا خَلَقَ اللهُ نُوْرُه یعنی اوّل چیزی که آفریدم نورِ مصطفیٰ بود؛ و باز خبر داده که اوّل ما خلق الله القلم وگاه این بیان

می کند که اَوَّلُ مَاخَلَقَ اللّٰهُ الْعَقْلُ، بیت

کسی که قاسمِ ارزاقِ بندگان باشد — بُوَد بحالِ همه بندگانِ خود بینا

وبپا بوسیِ بدیع الحقّ والدّنیا والدّین مولانا مستنصر باللّٰه علیه الصّلوات والسّلام رسیدم ومنظور نظرِ بزرگوار او شدم وبرحمت او برسیدم، آفتاب تافت بر جانم از اوجِ عزّتش وهمچون ذرّه بودم در هوای خویشتن، چون نظرِ رحمت براین بندهٔ ضعیف روز بروز تافت دولت مساعد گشت واین بنده را نوازش نمود وداعی الدّعاتِ خراسان نمودم، چندگاه در آستان بوسیِ صاحبِ کاف ونون بودم، روزی حجتان وداعیان را طلب نمود وبزبانِ مبارکِ خود عنایت فرمودند که ای بابا سیّدنا که را ببدخشان حواله سازم، جدّم بابا سیّدنا اشارت باین فقیر کردند، حضرت صاحب جلّ جلاله وعمّ نواله چون یک نظر بر ویم افگند دلم پُرنور گشت ومحو شدم، عنایت کرد وگفت ای سیّد ناصر تراحجّتِ بدخشان کردم وخدایا ر تو باد، ومن زمینِ عبودیت بوسیده ارشاد گرفتم وبجدِّ بلخ شدم وازآنجا به بدخشان شدم وکوه را اشارت کردم باستقبال آمد، عنایت بی نهایت او بود وا وخود بود بنده را چه محال آنکه به تحریر وتقریر آنچه اضافه باخلق روزگار توان بود که نشرِ دعوت هادیهٔ مهدیهٔ اسماعیلیه کنم که ماشاء اللّٰه کان ومالم یَشَاء لَمْ یَکُنْ وخود آنچه حضرت مولانا جلّت قدرته برزبانِ این بنده براند گفته شود انّه خیرُ الموفّق والمعُین هو حسبنا وحده وکفی مولانا

باب دویم در ابطال مذاهب هفتاد ودو فرقه

اهل عالم منقسم است، اوّل منقسم است بر دو قسمت یکی بی دینان یعنی پیروی

هیچ دین و پیغمبر نمی کنند و بطلب نمی کوشند، وقسم دیگر اهلِ ادیان اند، ظاهر است
چه اگر احتیاج بخداشناسی و پیغمبری وکسی نباشد که عقلِ او اکمل از عقولِ اهلِ
آن زمان باشد پس باید که هر کسی بعقلِ خود مشتغل باشد در معرفت باری تعالیٰ، و
ظاهر است که تفاوت در عقل مردم بسیار است، و بعضی از عقول بر بعضی فزون آید،
اگر آن عقل ناقص همان یابد که عقلِ کامل پس ناقص ناقص نباشد و کاملی کامل
نباشد، ونمودیم بسیاری در مراتب عقول ثابت است، پس ناقص را تابع آن
کامل باید بودن تا بمتابعت او بکمال رسد، و باید که این منتهی شود بعقلی که هیچ عقلی
فوقِ او نباشد و او بی واسطه تأیید از باری تعالیٰ یابد و او حجّتِ حق باشد در هر زمانی
چه اگر عقول بسیار است که بی واسطه تأیید یابند همان اختلاف باقی باشد، و در هر
زمانی ادیان مختلف پیدا شود و موجب حیرت عقول گردد که تابع کدام دین شود پس
لازم آید که در هر زمانی دینی باشد و آن دین یکی باشد و حجّت باشد و آن یکی باشد
آمدیم بقسمِ دویم که اهلِ ادیان اند، گوییم در هر هزاره بیشتر یا کمتر ناطقی بفرمایند تا
اهلِ عالم را اوّل دعوت بحقیقت کند، چون آن دعوتِ او را قبول نکنند یا بآنکه
فهمِ ایشان نرسد یا انکار و استکباری که در قرآنِ خداوندی عبارت از آنست
ایشان را دریابد آن ناطق را بفرمایند تا امثالِ ایشان نهد و پردهٔ کبریا و عزّت
فرو گذارد و سلاسل و اَغلالِ شریعت در گردنِ ایشان نهد، و وصی را بعد از
خود برپای کند که صاحب تأویلِ آن شریعت باشد، و آن ناطق و وصی را
در تنزیل و تأویل اشارت با امامِ وقت خداوندِ هژده هزار عالم جلّ ذکره باشد، باز
چون آن شریعت و آن طریقت در میانِ مردم بسیار بماند و مردم آن را بجای

حقیقت دارند و از ظاهر آن بیش فائده نباشد ناطق دیگر را فراپیش دارند تا نسخ آن شریعت پیشین کند و مردم را اوّلاً دعوت بحقیقت کند چون قبول دعوت نکنند او مثالِ دیگر فراپیش ایشان نهد و به بندِ زنجیرِ دیگر مقیّد کند چه اگر مثل آن کسانیکه از ظاهر بحقیقت نرسند مثل ستوریست که بکاه و برگ مائل باشند و به بر نرسند، و اگر ستور سرکش باشد او را به بند و زنجیر حاجت افتد، همچنانکه بعد از خود وصی قائم کند، در این دور هفت هزار سال که از دورهٔ اعظم که سیصد و شصت هزار سال است صد و هفتاد و هزار سال کسری گذشته بود، و در آخر این دوره قیامات قیامات که ظاهر خواست شد شش ناطق بودند، اوّلِ ایشان آدم سرندیبی، دویم نوح، سیم ابراهیم، چهارم موسیٰ، پنجم عیسیٰ، ششم محمّد مصطفیٰ صلّی اللہ علیه وسلّم، و دینِ او نسخِ همهٔ ادیان کرد چه کشف تمام قیامتِ قیامات در هزارهٔ آخر که دورهٔ او بود واقع شد واو فرمود که سَتَفتَرِقُ اُمَّتِی یعنی اُمّتِ من بعد از من پراکنده شوند بهفتاد و سه فرقه، هفتاد و دو هالک و گمراه‌اند و یکی ناجی و رستگار، و هر گروهی دعوی کردند که ناجی مائیم، از هر کسی دلیل جُستم و گروهی گفتند که ما اهل سنّت و جماعتیم و پیروی قرآن و حدیث میکنیم و اجماع اُمّت و قیاس می کنیم، گفتم این معنی که شما از قرآن و حدیث فهم می کنید از مصطفیٰ شنیده اید یا از کسی که از مصطفیٰ شنیده باشد، گفت نه، گفتم پس خدای را از این کلام چون دانستید، گفتند پیرویِ لغت کردیم، گفتم بسیاری کلام هست که از روی لغت معانیِ بسیار دارد کدام را اعتبار کردید، گفتند اجتهاد کردیم آنچه رأی و قیاسِ ما قبول کرد بر آن رفتیم، گفتم همهٔ شما این حدیث نقل می کنید که مَنْ فَسَّرَ الْقُرآن برأیه فَقَدْ کَفَرَ یعنی هر که تفسیر

قرآن را برأی و قیاسِ خود کرد کافر گردد، وہم شما نقل می کنید که مَن کَذَبَ عَلَیَّ متعمِّدًا فَلْیَتَبوَّأ مَقعده فِی النّار یعنی ہر که دروغ بر من بندد گویا که با کونِ خود داغ مینشاند در آتش[1]...

تنزیل و تأویلِ قرآن کسی را نباشد اِلّا نبیؑ و وصیِ ایشان در این معنی کسی نتوان بود اِلّا که نزدیک ترین باشد با ایشان و آنِ پیغمبر از مولانا علی لذکرہ السّجود والتّسبیح نبود، و ہر که تأویل سخن گفت مثل ابن عبّاس و دیگران از او شنیده باشند و سخنانِ او در طریقتِ تأویل مشہور تر از آن است که بذکر حاجت اُفتد، و احادیثِ پیغمبر در این باب بسیار است مثل آنکه پیغمبر می گوید که قالَ النّبیّ علیه السّلام، اَنَا مدینة العِلْمِ و علیٌّ بابُها، و انت منّی بمَنْزلة هارونَ مِن مُوسٰی ولَحْمُكَ لَحْمی ودَمُكَ دَمی

و چون از احوال قائم و صاحبِ تأویل می پرسند و می گویند خاصِفُ النّعْلِ و حدیثِ غدیرِ خُم و آیتی که قوله تعالیٰ اطیعُوا اللّٰهَ واطیعوا الرّسُولَ واُولِی الاَمْرِ مِنْکم[2] و آنکه از پیغمبر پرسیدند که اولوالامرِ تو کیست، اشارت بمولانا علی کرد و گفت که إنّما وَلیّکُمُ اللّٰهُ وَرَسُولُه[3] و آنکه از پیغمبر پرسیدند که ایمان چیست گفت آمَنْتُ باللّٰهِ و ملائکَتِهٖ وکُتُبِهٖ ورسلِهٖ والیَوْمِ الآخِرِ و یومِ آخر مولانا علیست چه نبی که صاحبِ تنزیل یومِ اوّل است و وصی که صاحبِ تأویل است یومِ آخر، پس ایمان براو واجب است، آورده اند که مثالِ این آیات و حدیث بسیار است

و ابا این مقدّماتِ معقول و منقول روشن کردیم که ہر که بباطل و ناحق دعویِ امامت و پیشوائی کند او بروزِ آخر ایمان ندارد و نداشته باشد، کافر و مرتد باشد، مولانا

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[1] از اینجا چند ورق در نسخهٔ اصل افتاده است [2] آیهٔ ۶۲ از سورة النساء (4) [3] آیهٔ ۶۰ از سورة المائدة (5)

همه را بفریاد رساند. و از غولان که امامانِ باطل اند خلاصی دهاد

وگروهی دیگر گفتند که ما شیعه ایم و پیروی مصطفی و مرتضی و اولادِ ایشان می کنیم الحق نیکو قومی و شایسته طریقی، پرسیدم که چگونه پیروی می کنید، گفتند که ما در عهدِ امامت مولانا علی ایستاده ایم و گمان آن است که او باز آید، وگروهی دیگر گفتند که ما بامام زید پسر مولانا علی ایستاده ایم، وگروهی دیگر گفتند که ما بامام محمد ابن حنفیه ایستاده ایم که او باز آید و عجب است باوجود آنکه نه نص و نه شرطِ امامت در ایشان موجود بود چیزها در میان آوردند و گویند که طبعِ سلیم از آن حیران بماند، و خلافت معزول باوجود آنکه نه نص و نه شرط و نه علم و نه معرفت را شرط است چنانچه خدای تعالیٰ در کلام مجید خود ذکر کرده است که قوله تعالیٰ مَعْرِفَةُ اللّٰهِ مَعْرِفَةُ إمامِ الزَّمانِ[1] یعنی گفت معرفت خدای تعالیٰ معرفتِ امام زمان است که در هر زمانی باشد تا معرفت خدا را الخلقِ خدا رساند تا خلق را بر خدای تعالیٰ حجّت باشد[2]

امّا خروج و شجاعت و تقویٰ و رأی و قیاس و اجماعِ اُمّت خلافت را شرط نیست، وگوییم آنکه فاطمی باشد لازم است که در عهدی و عصری باشد و گویند لازم نیست که در عهدی باشد و در یک زمان تواند بود که ده امام و بیشتر باشند، اگرچه فسادِ این مذهب بسیار ظاهر است امّا در سخنانِ گذشته و بعض مقدمات رفته که دلیل واضح است بر بطلانِ این مذهب، و در باب امامت نیز خواهد آمد

وگروهی دیگر گفتند که ما بمولانا جعفر ایستاده ایم و او باز خواهد آمد، و ما می گوییم که معنی امامت پیشوائی ست و آنکه امّت و گروه را بمعرفت حقیقی رساند، و در هر زمانی پیشوائی باید بود که مردم را بمعرفت خدا و خدائی برساند والّا در آن زمان که مردم اهل عالم

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[1] این عبارت در قرآن موجود نیست   [2] در اصل نسخه (نباشد)

در جهل و گمراهی بمانند و معرفتِ خدا معطّل باشد و کَوْنِ حق بر اُفتد نعوذ باللّه از این اعتقادها نیز خدای تعالیٰ چنین فرموده که قوله تعالیٰ يَوْمَ نَدْعُو كُلَّ أُنَاسٍ بِإِمَامِهِمْ[1] یعنی گفت خدای تعالیٰ که می خوانم فردای قیامت هر گروهی را با امام و پیشوای دَوْرِ او؛ و نیز حدیثِ پیغمبر علیه السّلام بر این وارد است که قال النّبیّ علیه السّلام لَوْ خَلَتِ الأَرْضُ مِن إمامٍ ساعةً لَمادَتْ بِأَهْلِها یعنی گفت پیغمبر علیه السّلام که اگر خالی شود زمین از امامِ زمان یک ساعت و یک لحظه و یک لمعه جهان و اہلِ جهان نیست و ہلاک شوند؛ و تفصیلِ آنها در بابِ امامت بیاید

و گروهی دیگر گفتند این امامت تا بحسن عسکری رسید و از او بمحمّد پسر او که مهدیِ موعود است که در آخر الزّمان بیاید؛ و از این پانصد سال شد بیشتر که زنده است و در غاری یا چاهی رفته است و زود بیرون آید و بسی محالات در بیرون آمدنِ او بگویند و تعیینِ وقت کنند و گویند که این شرط داشته باشد؛ و ما گوئیم اوّلاً اگر امامت هر وقت که صلاح داند و بهر طریق که خواهد بیرون آید شمارا تعیین و شرطِ وقت بچه کار آید؛ و نیز مردمِ عاقل دانند که کسی این مقدار سال نزید و در غار این همه مدّت پنهان نشود؛ آنکه ایشان استدلال بقصّهٔ نوح کنند که او هزار سال بیش یا کم بزیست چنانچه در قرآن است قوله تعالیٰ فَلَبِثَ فِيهِمْ أَلْفَ سَنَةٍ إِلَّا خَمْسِينَ عَامًا[2] و قصّهٔ اصحابِ کهف؛ گوئیم این همه را تأویل است و در تأویلات باید دید؛ نیز او اگر امام بودی بایستی که کسی با او راه بردی و الّا همان تعطیل لازم آید که همه خلقِ جهان بی معرفت باشند و ایشان را بر خدای حجّت نباشد؛ و این چنین امام سببِ عذابِ خلق باشد؛ و امام باید که سببِ رحمتِ عالم باشد و همه کس را معلوم است که هیچ کس راه با او نبرده است

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[1] از آیه ۷۳ از سورة الاسرىٰ (17) [2] از آیهٔ ۱۴ از سورة العنكبوت (29)

وکسی که نیست خود چون راه بدو برند

مولانا همهٔ مؤمنانِ خود را از شرِّ ابلیسیانِ وقت نگاه داراد و همهٔ مؤمنان را بنورِ معرفتِ خویش بینا و گویا و شنوا گرداناد وَهُوَ حَسْبُنَا وَكَفَى مَوْلَانَا

والسّلام

باب سیم در بیانِ آنکه بجز این طائفهٔ محقّه که اسماعیلیانِ روزگار اند هیچ فریقهٔ دیگر ناجی نیستند

و در باب دویم پیدا کردیم که باید مردم را که دینی داشته باشند و آن دین پاک خاندانِ محمّد و علی باشد بقولِ خدای تعالی که قوله تعالی (آمنوا) بالله وملائکتِهِ وکُتُبِهِ ورُسُلِهِ والیَوْمِ الآخِرِ[1] یعنی ایمان آوردن است بخدا و فرشتگان و کتابهای او و رسولانِ او و بیومِ آخر و یومِ آخر مولانا علی را خواست و فرزندانِ او و ذریتِ اویند و ایمان باو واجب است و باز گفت که قوله تعالی یا أیّها الّذین آمَنُوا أطیعُوا اللهَ وأطیعوا الرّسُولَ وأُولِی الأمْرِ مِنْکُمْ[2] یعنی ای گروندگانی که ایمان آورده اید بخدا و رسول اطاعت دارید اولوا الامر را یعنی علی مرتضی کرم الله وجهه را بحکمِ خدای تعالی که قوله تعالی إنّما ولیّکم اللهُ ورَسُولُه والّذین آمنُوا الّذین یقیمون الصّلوٰةَ ویُؤتُونَ الزّکوٰةَ وهم راکِعُون[3] یعنی گفت خدای تعالی که ولی گردانیدم علی ولی الله را بر حبیبِ لبیب قریب خود گذاشتم نماز و روزه و حج و صیام و تمام اموراتِ دنیا و عقبی را و هر که بدوستیِ علی ولی الله نماز و روزه و حج و صیام کند قبول است بدرگاهِ من که خدایم و هر که بی دوستیِ علی و اولادش اگر از مشرقِ عالم تا بمغربِ عالم طاعت و عبادت کند قبول نیست بدرگاهِ من که خدایم بحکم

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[1] از آیه ۱۳۵ از سورة النساء (4) [2] از آیهٔ ۶۲ از سورة النساء (4) [3] آیه ۶۰ از سورة المائدة (5)

إنّما وليّكم الله' پس معلوم شد که علی ولیِ خداست و وصیِ مصطفیٰ ست و طاعت ایشان طاعتِ خدای تعالیٰ است' وخدای تعالیٰ در قرآن مجید خبر داده که قوله تعالیٰ[۱] إنّي (ولّيتُه) وليّ الله في الأرضِ وأُفوّضُ أمري وإليهِ الحُكمُ في العبادة[۱] یعنی گفت خدای تعالیٰ که ولی گردانیدم علی ولیّ الله را ولی آفریدگار در زمین و با او گذاشته ام همهٔ کار خویش را و حاکم گردانیده ام درمیانِ بندگانِ خود في العبادة یعنی عبادتِ او عبادتِ من است' بحکمِ خدای تعالیٰ که قوله تعالیٰ معرفةُ اللهِ مَعرِفةُ إمامِ زمانِهِ[۲] یعنی گفت خدای تعالیٰ که معرفتِ من معرفتِ امام زمان است'

واز حضرت امام حسن علیه السّلام منقول است که خطبهٔ خواند و گفت که من از اهلِ بیتم و فرض گردانیده حق تعالیٰ محبّتِ ما بر هر مسلمانی بحکمِ آیتِ قرآن شریف که قوله تعالیٰ وعلی عَمّيهِ وسِبطَيهِ وأعوانِهِ وأنصارِهِ مَحبّةٌ إلى يومِ الدّين[۳] یعنی گفت خدای تعالیٰ که فرض گردانیدم محبّتِ اهلِ بیت را بر جمیع مؤمنان و مؤمنات و بر جمیع بندگانِ خود إلى يومِ الدّينِ یعنی تا بروز آخر' و چون پیغمبر علیه السّلام میگوید که قال النّبيّ علیه السّلام ستفترق أُمّتي من بعدي على ثلاثٍ و سَبعينَ فِرقةً فِرقةٌ واحدةٌ ناجيةٌ والباقي هالكٌ في النّارِ یعنی پیغمبر علیه السّلام می گوید که بعد از من اُمّتِ من پراکنده شود بهفتاد و سه فریقه یکی از آنها ناجی و رستگار و باقی همه هالک' و حضرتِ شاهِ مردان کرّم الله وجهه و سلمان و بوذر و جابرِ انصاری و سهل و مهاجر و انصار جمیعهم حاضر بودند' حضرت شاهِ مردان علیه السّلام گفتند که یا رسول الله ناجی کیانند و هالک کدام' حضرت رسول فرمودند که یا علی أنت وشيعتُكَ هُمُ المُفلِحونَ' یا علی أنت وشيعتك هم الفائزون یعنی

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[۱] این عبارت در قرآن موجود نیست فقط در آیه ۴۴ از سورة المؤمن (۴۰) لفظ وأُفوّضُ أمري پیداست
[۲] این عبارت در قرآن نیست ظاهراً حدیث باید باشد [۳] این هم ازباید حدیث باشد

گفت پیغمبر علیه السلام که یا علی تو و شیعهٔ تو رستگارانید یا علی تو و شیعهٔ تو فیروزه یافتگانید
بمضمون این آیهٔ کریمه قوله تعالیٰ وأنّ هٰذا صِراطی مُستقیمًا فاتبِعوه و
لاتتّبِعُوا السُّبُلَ[1] ترجمهٔ شعر

بعد احمد گشت هفتاد و سه فرقه اُمتش | زان یکی ناجی و دیگر هالکند ای هوشیار
اتفاق اهل بیت مصطفی یک فرقه اند | دیگران هفتاد و دو با اختلاف بی شمار
ناجی اکنون آلِ پیغمبر بُوَد یا دیگران | باز کن چشم خود و بشنو جوابی گوش دار
من گرفتم دامنِ آلِ پیغمبر زان میان | هرکرا خواهی تو نیز از دیگران برگیر یار

بقولِ این حدیث نبوی که قال النبیّ علیه السلام مَثَل ذرّیتی کمثلِ
سَفینةِ نوحٍ مَن رَکِبَ فیها نجا وَمَن تخلّفَ عَنها غرق یعنی گفت پیغمبر
علیه السلام که من و اهلِ بیتِ من همچون کشتیِ نوحیم هرکه در کشتی نشست از طوفان
رست و هرکه تخلفِ امر کرد غرق شد ترجمه

من که در کشتیِ نوحم با نبی و با ولی | گو زمین طوفان بگیرد آسمان آفت ببار
رستگار آمد سگی کو بود با اصحاب کهف | من که با آلِ رسولم چون نباشم رستگار

و ما کلّیات آن هفتاد و دو باطل را ظاهر کردیم و بگوییم بیان آن یک فرقه که ناجی اند و
آن گروهی اند که می گویند که امام همیشه باشد و عالم بی امام بقا ندارد و امام همیشه بُود و
هست و خواهد بودن بحکم قرآن شریف که قوله تعالیٰ وکلَّ شَیءٍ أحصَیناه فی
امامٍ مُبینٍ[2] و خود تصور نتوان کرد و عالم قابلِ تغیّر و تبدیل است بخود هست نتواند
بود پس باید که بقای عالم و آدم بکسی باشد که این مسئله در باب امامت بیاید و
آن کس همیشه هست و بود و خواهد بودن و آن شخص امام است لذکره التّسجود و

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[1] آیه ۱۵۴ از سورة الانعام (6) [2] از آیه ۱۱ از سورهٔ یس (36)

والتسبیح و پیغمبر علیه السّلام فرموده که قال النبیّ علیه السّلام لَوْخَلَتِ الْاَرْضُ
مِنْ اِمامٍ ساعةً لَمادت بِاَهْلِها یعنی اگر خالی شود جهان از امام زمان یک لحظه
و یک لمعه و یک ساعت و یک چشم زدن جهان و اهلِ جهان نیست و هلاک شوند و
روزی صد هزار بار نظر بر آفرینشِ عالم می کند تا دنیا برقرار می ماند و پیغمبران در کلام
خداوند خبر داده اند در توریت و انجیل و زبور و فرقانِ حضرت رسول علیه السّلام ترجمه

شعر

علی بُود در میانِ چار دفتر   زبور و توریت و انجیل و فرقان

و هر پیغمبری که بوده اند اشارت بقائم وقت داده اند و پیغمبر علیه السّلام میگوید
که امام همیشه در عالم پیداست و هرگز نیست که کسی را با او راه نیست و او را همیشه
حجّتی و داعی باشد که سبب معرفتِ بندگان باشند و حق را بحق شناسانند
و مأمورِ امرِ او باشند چنانچه خدای تعالیٰ در کلام مجید خود یاد کرده که قوله تعالیٰ معرفة
الله معرفة امام زمانه[۱] گفت خدای تعالیٰ که معرفتِ من معرفتِ امامِ زمان
است که در هر زمان است تا معرفتِ مرا بخلق رساند و خلق را بر من حجّت باشد[۲]
و گویم آنکه فاطمی باشد لازم آنکه در هر عصری و عهدی باشد بحکم این آیتِ کریمه که
قوله تعالیٰ اِنَّ اللهَ اصْطَفٰی آدَمَ وَ نُوحًا وَّ آلَ اِبْرَاهِیمَ وَ آلَ عِمْرَانَ
عَلَی الْعَالَمِینَ ذُرِّیَّةً بَعْضُهَا مِنْ بَعْضٍ وَ اللهُ سَمِیعٌ عَلِیمٌ[۳] یعنی گفت خدای
تعالیٰ که ذرّیّت پیغمبران از نسل یکدیگرند چنانچه اینجا اثبات شد و جای دیگر فرموده
که قوله تعالیٰ وَ وَرِثَ سُلَیْمَانُ دَاوُدَ[۴] یعنی میراث برد سلیمان از داود
از زکریا نقل نموده اند که گفت پیغمبر علیه السّلام که قوله تعالیٰ فَهَبْ لِی مِنْ

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۱ این ظاهراً حدیثی باشد نه آیهٔ قرآن ۲ در نسخهٔ اصل (نباشد) نوشته ۳ آیهٔ ۳۰ از سورهٔ آل عمران (3)
۴ از آیهٔ ۱۶ از سورهٔ النمل (27)

لَدُنْكَ وَلِيًّا يَرِثُنِي[1] یعنی حاصلِ سخن آنکه زکریا دعا کرد بحق تعالیٰ و گفت که ای پروردگار
من بده بمن ولی که از من میراث برد بهمه حال چنانچه موسی از شعیب، و این محافظت با
قرآن دارد که قوله تعالیٰ، وَتِلْكَ حُجَّتُنَا آتَيْنَاهَا إِبْرَاهِيمَ عَلَىٰ قَوْمِهِ نَرْفَعُ
دَرَجَاتٍ مَنْ نَشَاءُ إِنَّ رَبَّكَ حَكِيمٌ عَلِيمٌ إلی آخرها إلی صِرَاطٍ مُسْتَقِيمٍ[2]
چنانچه ثابت شد، و پیغمبران از یکدیگر میراث برده اند و گواه اند بر یکدیگر، ترجمہ، شعر

بصُلبِ پاک به بطنِ مطہر آورده ز دَورِ آدمشان تا بدَورِ عبدِمناف

پس ثابت شد که بتحقیق امامانِ بحق ائمۂ اسماعیلیہ اند که ذرّیتِ آلِ پیغمبران اند،
و پیغمبر علیہ السلام فرمود که قَالَ النَّبِيُّ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ، وَمَنْ مَاتَ وَلَمْ يَعْرِفْ
إِمَامَ زَمَانِهِ فَقَدْ مَاتَ مِيتَةً جَاهِلِيَّةً وَالْجَاهِلُ فِي النَّارِ یعنی گفت
پیغمبر علیہ السلام که هر که بمیرد و امامِ زمانِ خود را نداند مرگِ او مرگِ جاهلان باشد،
و جای جاهلان آتشِ دوزخ است، و مرگِ کسی که بی پیغمبر او مرده باشد، و خدای
تعالیٰ در قرآن شریف یاد کرده که قوله تعالیٰ، يَوْمَ نَدْعُو كُلَّ أُنَاسٍ بِإِمَامِهِمْ[3]
یعنی گفت خدای تعالیٰ که می خوانم فردای قیامت هر گروهی با امام و پیشوای دورِ او،
و خدای تعالیٰ در شانِ ذرّیتِ پیغمبر علیہ السلام در کلامِ مجید در سورۂ نور
خبر داده که قوله تعالیٰ، اللَّهُ نُورُ السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ مَثَلُ نُورِهِ كَمِشْكَاةٍ
فِيهَا مِصْبَاحٌ[4] یعنی خدای تعالیٰ ہدایت کننده و راه نماینده است بندگانِ خود را
از ظلمتِ کفر و ضلالت و گمراهی بنورِ امامِ زمان و ہدایتِ خود، و منوّر است یعنی نور
بخشاینده است آن خدائی که این همه عالم را از کتمِ عدم بجزوِ وجود آورد و ظاهر
گردانید، و وجودِ آن ظاهر است بنطفه که خالق و صانع مکنون است، پس نورِ خداوندی

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[1] از آیات ۵ و ۶ از سورۂ مریم (19) [2] آیات ۸۳ تا ۸۷ از سورۂ الانعام (6) [3] از آیہ ۷۳ از سورۂ الاسری (17) [4] از آیۂ ۳۵ از سورۂ النور (24)

امامِ زمان است که آسمان و زمین را روشن گردانیده است که چگونه نمی یابی در دلِ خود، وصفتِ آن نورِ عظیم که نفع او بعالم و عالمیان بسیار است، چنین مثل زده در کتاب توحید از ابن بابویه منقول است که اللّٰهُ نُورُ السَّمٰوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ مَثَلُ نُورِهِ كَمِشْكٰوةٍ فِيهَا مِصْبَاحٌ الْمِصْبَاحُ فِي زُجَاجَةٍ[1] یعنی نور حق تعالیٰ در آسمان و زمین است و از مشکوٰة پیغمبر است که بنور آن سرور خلق ہدایت می یابند، و زجاجه دل علی است که او وصیِ اوست بعد از نبی علیه السّلام، و کوکب دری است بر افروخته شده از شجرهٔ مبارک زیتون که ابراهیم خلیل الرحمٰن است و عمران است، و پیغمبر علیه السّلام از نسلِ ابراهیم و علی علیه السّلام از آل عمران است و علی ابن ابی طالب علیه السّلام که نه جهود و نه نصرانی بوده اند

حضرت رسول علیه السّلام می فرماید که نزدیک است که علم بیرون آید از دهنِ جانشینِ پیغمبر علیه السّلام پیش از آنکه گویا شود، و نور علی علیه السّلام نور امامت است که بعد از او در ذریتِ اوست، و امام در دَوْرِ خود و در عصرِ خود ہدایت کنندهٔ خلقند تا از بادیهٔ جہالت بسرحد ایمان و توحید و معرفت بنده را بخدا و خدائی رسانند و از مضیق جہل که دوزخ نادانی است بفضای روحانی برسانند، و حضرت رسول علیه السّلام می فرماید که مصباح نوریست که در آن علم است که در وقتِ رحلت در وصیِ خود میگذارم مانند چراغ آبگینه که نزدیک از غایت وضوح و صفا و نور و ضیای نبوت و ولایت سخن گوید بی آنکه ملک بآن نازل گردد، ترجمه، شعر

فرمان برجعتِ شہ داور کند علی | بی جبرئیل کارِ پیمبر کند علی

آیت اللّٰهُ نُورُ السَّمٰوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ مَثَلُ نُورِهِ كَمِشْكٰوةٍ فِيهَا مِصْبَاحٌ

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[1] آیه ۳۵ از سورة النور (24)

المصباح فی الزجاجة[1] یعنی نورِ نبوّت و ولایت روشن گردانندۀ آسمانها و زمین است٬ بماه و ستارگان و آفتاب و بانوار عالم و بملائکه نور نورانی گردانیدۀ اوینده و انبیا و اوصیا و علمای ائمّۀ هدا گویند که مشکوٰة انبوبه است که درمیانِ قندیل باشد و باین قول مصباح فتیله بود که درانبوبه نهند٬ وصفتِ نوری که بحضوت باداست مانند کوی است که درون آن چراغیست برافروخته شده است٬ آن چراغ افروخته در قندیل است آویخته از آبگینه و آبگینه از غایتِ صفا و درخشندگی که الزّجاجة کأنّها کَوْکَبٌ دُرِّیٌّ یُوقَدُ مِن شَجَرَةٍ مُبارکَةٍ زَیْتُونَةٍ لَا شرقیّةٍ ولا غربیّة[2] گویا این شیشه ستاره ایست بغایت برافروخته می شود از روغنِ درختِ بابرکتِ بسیار و نفعِ تمام که زیتون است که در زمینِ مقصداست٬ و هفت پیغمبر برا و دعای برکت کرده اند که یکی از آنها ابراهیم خلیل الله است٬ و نه در جانبِ شرق وارضِ تبت و ختایست و نه در طرف غرب چون طنجه و طرطوس یَکادُ زَیْتُها یُضِیْءُ وَلَوْلَمْ تَمْسَسْهُ نارٌ نورٌ عَلَی نورٍ یَهْدِی اللهُ لنورِهِ مَن یَشاءُ[3] نزدیک است روغنش روشنی دهد عالم را اگر نرسیده باشد باوی آتش یعنی از درخشندگی و برقی بمرتبۀ آن است که بی آتش روشنی بخشد و روشنی افزوده بحکم نورٌعَلی نورٍ. یَهدی اللهُ لِنورِهِ مَن یشاءُ٬ بروشنی او راه می نماید خدای تعالیٰ بنورِ دین و ایمانِ خود یعنی بامام زمان هرکرا می خواهد وَیَضْرِبُ اللهُ الأَمثالَ لِلنّاسِ واللهُ بِکُلِّ شَیْءٍ عَلیمٌ[4] یعنی ای محمد می زند از برای توضیح خدای تعالیٰ مثلها را یعنی معقولات را در لباس محسوسات بیان می کند برای مردمان تا روزی دریابند و مقصود برایشان ظاهر شود٬ و خدای تعالیٰ بهمه چیزها از دقائق معقولات و محسوسات

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[1] آیه ۳۵ از سورة النّور (24) [2] از همان آیۀ مذکور [3] از همان آیۀ مذکور [4] باز از همان آیه

بہ تمثیل داناست

تا اینجا تفسیر است وبعد ازاین تأویل است، علما را دراین باب معقولات ومحسوسات وتمثیل سخن بسیار است، وبعضی برآن اند که مراد از نور ایمان است وازمشکوٰة مؤمن واززجاجه دلِ او وتشبیه کرده شد ایمان را چراغ افروخته در قندیل، وقندیل را بکوکب درخشنده وکلمهٔ توحید را بشجرهٔ مبارک ازتاب آفتاب که خوفِ ضلال است نوال وبهره دارد ونزدیک است که فیضِ این کلمه بی آنکه بزبانِ مؤمن گذرد عالم را منوّر گرداند، چون او بزبان جاری شود وقصد چنان تاآن بارشود[1] نمودیم که از نور علی نور بظهور برسد، گویند که این مَثَل ازبرای حضرت رسالت پناه صلّی الله علیه وآله وسلّم زده شده چه مشکوٰة سینهٔ بی کینهٔ آن سرور است وزجاجه دلِ منوّر است ومصباح کردار مطهر است که عبادت است ازنبوّتِ او صلّی الله علیه وسلّم لَا شَرْقِيَّةٍ وَلَا غَرْبِيَّةٍ يَكَادُ زَيْتُهَا الخ[2] عبارت ازعدم یهودیت ونصرانیت که جهودان درآن عبادت کنند بمغرب وترسایان بمشرق، وشجرهٔ مبارک شجرهٔ نبوّت است، وآن ابراهیم خلیل الله است که پیغمبران ازنسل اویند، ونزدیک است که نور پاک محمّد مصطفیٰ صلّی الله علیه وآله وسلّم ظهور شود برمردم اگرچه آتش باو نرسیده باشد، گویند که مشکوٰة ابراهیم علیه السّلام است وزجاجه اسماعیل علیه السّلام است، ومصباح حضرت رسول علیه السّلام است چنانچه درجای دیگر آن سرور علیه السّلام سراج نامیده شده ومعنیِ يَكَادُ زَيْتُهَا يُضِيءُ آن است که درمحاسنِ آن سرور علیه السّلام ظاهر می شود قبل ازآنکه بود وهست وخواهد بودن، ووحی کرده شود بسوی آن ونور علی نور نورِ پاکِ پیغمبر است وازنسل پیغمبر دیگر است از آدم تا ابراهیم خلیل الله وخاتم پیغمبران چنانچه بالا آیت إِنَّ اللَّهَ اصْطَفَىٰ آدَمَ وَ

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[1] بار اینجا بمعنیٔ آنکه ارادهٔ انسان براو اضافه شود [2] باز ازهمان آیه است [3] باز ازهمان آیه

نوحًا وآلَ ابراهیمَ وآلَ عِمرانَ عَلَی العالمِینَ ذُرِّیَّةً بَعضُها مِن بَعضٍ واللهُ سَمیعٌ علیمٌ[1] ترجمه

شعر

زدو رِ آدمشان تا بدورِ عبدِ مناف ... بصُلبِ پاک به بطنِ مطهّر آورده[2]

گویند مشکوٰة عبد المطلب است و زجاجه عبد الله و مصباح صاحبِ معراج محمد است که نه شرقی و نه غربی است بلکه مکّی است که میانِ دنیا است، و از امام برحق جعفر الصادق علیه السّلام منقول است که ما مشکوٰتیم و مصباح جدم محمّد مصطفیٰ صلی الله علیه وآله وسلم است که هدایت می کند خدای تعالیٰ بولایتِ ما کسی را که دوست میدارد

و از ابن بابویه رحمة الله علیه که از صحابهٔ کبار آن حضرت بود در کتاب توحید از عیسی ابن راشد و او از حضرتِ امام محمّد باقر علیه السّلام روایت کرده که مِشکوٰةٌ فیهَا مِصباحٌ مراد از نور علی است که در سینهٔ بی کینهٔ حضرتِ امیر المؤمنین علی ابن ابیطالب که علم نبی علیه السّلام بسینهٔ علی علیه السّلام آمده که قالَ النّبیُّ علیه السّلام، انا مدینة العلم وعلی بابُها بتعلیم آن سرور معنیِ یَکادُ زَیتُها یُضِیٓءُ آن است که نزدیک است که عالم از آلِ فخرِ بنی آدم محمّد مصطفیٰ صلّی الله علیه وآله تکلّم نماید بعلم پیش از آنکه سؤال کرده شود نورٌ علی نورٍ یعنی امام مؤیّد ند بنور علم و حکمتِ ازلی، امام دیگر از آلِ محمّد علیه السّلام می آید و این هرگز منقطع نشده و نشود از زمان آدم تا خاتم تا قائم قیامت، امام اوصیا اند که حق تعالیٰ ایشان را خلفای خود ساخته در زمین و حجّت گردانید بر خلق و خالی نمی شود زمین در هیچ عصری از یکی از ایشان که تسبیح گویند حق تعالیٰ را

و فتیلهٔ آن چراغ از روغن که علم توحید است ممزوج و آمیخته شده چنانچه صفاء

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[1] آیهٔ ۳۰ از سورهٔ آل عمران (3) [2] همین بیت بصفحه ۲۷ ذکر شد

نور وضیای فَوْقَهُمْ روغنهاست، لَا شَرْقِيَّةٍ وَلَا غَرْبِيَّةٍ یعنی در جانب مشرق
نیست درختِ آن که بعد از زوال تا آخر روز آفتاب بتابد لَا غَرْبِيَّةٍ یعنی جانب مغرب
هم نیست که از اوّل روز تا نزدیکِ زوال آفتاب می تابد، وگویند که معنی شجرهٔ زیتون آن
است که پیوسته در آفتاب باشد تا متحرق گردد و نه در سایه مدام ماند تا او و میوهٔ او
خام ماند بلکه هم از غایتِ تاب آفتاب بهره مند باشد و هم از جوف و حائط سایه محفوظ،
وگویند که اصل آن درخت از درختان بهشت است و از آنجا بدنیا آورده اند، پس از
اشجار آن عالم است که صفت او شرقی و غربی نتوان گفت، واین نور برافروخته شود
که ذکر کرده شده در خانهای رفیع القدر ایشان و جلیل القدر انبیا و اولیا و رسولان
و اہل بیت رسول علیه السّلام است، وآن درخت طوبی ست که در لبِ حوضِ کوثر
است که شاخ آن بر سر ہفت آسمان است و بیخِ او در پشت گاو و ماہیست، وشاخهای
او از مشرق تا بمغرب را سایه دارد و بر سر روزن هر یک بهشتی یکی شاخ آویزان
و هر چه بهشتیان طمع کنند در آن شاخ حاصل شود، وآن درخت مثل است بر خاتم
رسُل و پیشوای سُبُل حضرت رسول علیه السّلام وعلی کرّم الله وجهه و اولادش پس چنانچه
خدای تعالی در سورهٔ ابراہیم یاد کرده است که قوله تعالی اَلَمْ تَرَ كَيْفَ ضَرَبَ اللّٰهُ
مَثَلًا كَلِمَةً طَيِّبَةً كَشَجَرَةٍ طَيِّبَةٍ أَصْلُهَا ثَابِتٌ وَفَرْعُهَا فِي السَّمَآءِ
یعنی گفت خدای تعالی که ای محمّد ندانستهٔ که حق تعالی چگونه مثل زده بتو و اہل بیتِ تو
یعنی گردانیده که کلمهٔ پاکیزهٔ توحید است که هر کلمهٔ نیکو مانند درخت پاک است که آن
درختِ طوبی ست که بیخ آن استوار است در زمین و شاخهای آن در آسمان، از حضرت
امام جعفر صادق علیه السّلام و او از امام محمّد باقر روایت نموده اند که درخت طیبه حضرت

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۱ آیهٔ ۲۹ از سورة ابراہیم (۱۴)

رسول علیه السّلام و فرعِ آن مرتضی علی علیه السّلام و عنصر آن فاطمه بنتِ رسول الله و حضرت خیر النّساء و فاطمهٔ زہرا ست صلوات الله علیها و میوهٔ آن اولاد فاطمه حسن و حسین و ذرّیهٔ اویند و برگهای آن درخت شیعیان و موالیان اہل بیت اند پس فرمود بدرستی که مردی از شیعیان می میرد می افتد از آن درخت برگی چون ولدی از شیعیان موجود می شود بر می آید بجای آن برگ افتاده ورقِ دیگر واز ابن عبّاس مرویست که جبرئیل علیه السّلام بحضرت رسول علیه السّلام گفت که تو درختی و علی علیه السّلام و فاطمهٔ زہرا صلوات الله علیها شاخهای آن درخت و میوهٔ آن اولاد پاک اویند و برگ آنها شیعیان و موالیانِ اہل بیت اند

و مراد از کلمهٔ طیّبه ایمان است و شجرهٔ طیّبه مؤمن است و خدای تعالی در سورهٔ الرحمٰن یاد کرده که قوله تعالی يَخْرُجُ مِنْهُمَا اللُّؤْلُؤُ وَالْمَرْجَانُ فَبِأَيِّ آلَاءِ رَبِّكُمَا تُكَذِّبَانِ[1] یعنی مروارید و مرجان مثل باہل بیت رسول علیه السّلام و حضرت رسول علیه السّلام فرموده اند که مرتضی علی علیه السّلام و فاطمهٔ زہرا صلوات الله علیها و دو فرزندانِ ایشان اند واز ابن عباس رضی الله عنه واز سلمان فارسی و سعد ابن جبیر و سفیان ثوری نقل است که آبِ باران از آسمان فرو می آید و در صدف که در دریا معیّن است مروارید پیدا می شود و مراد از دریا پیغمبر علیه السّلام و حضرت مرتضی علی کرّم الله وجهه و حضرت فاطمهٔ زہرا صلوات الله علیها واز لؤلؤ و مرجان حضرت امام حسن و امام حسین اند و حضرت رسول علیه السّلام فرمودند که حق تعالی مرا و پسرِ عمّ مرا یک درخت آفرید یعنی من اصلِ آن درختم و علی فرعِ آن درخت است و حسن و حسین صلوات الله علیهما میوهٔ آن درخت اند و پیروان و شیعیانِ ما برگ آن درخت اند پس ہر که دست زند بر آن درخت و شاخهای

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[1] آیات ۲۲ و ۲۳ از سورة الرحمٰن (55)

آن نجات یابد از جهنّم و سقر، و هر که بر آن میل نکند و خلاف ورزد گمراه شود و به عذاب الیم گرفتار گردد، و پیغمبر علیه السّلام گفت که قال النّبیُّ علیه السّلام: إنّی تارِکٌ فیکم الثّقلَینِ ما ان تَمَسّکتُم بِهِما لَن تَضِلُّوا أبدًا کتابَ اللهِ وعِترَتی أهلَ البَیتِ ولَن یَفترقا حتّیٰ یَرِدُوا علی الحَوضِ، یعنی میگذارم درمیانِ شما اُمّتان خود چیزی را که اگر بدان چیز باستید و پیروی کنید هرگز گمراه نخواهید شد، اوّل کتابِ خدای تعالیٰ، دوم عترتِ من که اہلِ بیتِ من اند، و این کتاب و عترتِ من از هم جدا نمی شوند تا آنکه درپیشِ من بسر حوض کوثر برسید

پس معلوم شد که گروه رستگار از هفتاد و سه گروه شیعهٔ اسماعیل است و ائمهٔ اسماعیلیه بدین دلیل که قوله تعالیٰ: إِنَّما یُرِیدُ اللّٰهُ لِیُذْهِبَ عَنکُمُ الرِّجْسَ أَهْلَ البَیْتِ وَیُطَهِّرَکُمْ تَطْهِیرًا[1] دلیلِ صدقِ ایشان است، و حاصلِ معنیش این است که الله تعالیٰ دور می سازد شما را ای اہلِ بیت از رِجس و قبح و پاک می گرداند شما را از تمام آلایشِ دنیا[2]...

و امام از روز اَلَستُ بِرَبِّکُم[3] بوده است و امام می باید که اعلم النّاس باشد و باجماعِ اُمّت او را کار نباشد، و حق تعالیٰ فرموده که قوله تعالیٰ: لا ینالُ عَهدِی الظّالمین[4] ترجمه اش این است که عهدِ من که امامت است بظالمان نمی رسد، دلیل دیگر آنکه قولِ حق تعالیٰ که قوله تعالیٰ: ولا تَرْکَنُوا إِلَی الّذینَ ظَلَمُوا[5] یعنی گفت خدای تعالیٰ که میل بظالمان مکنید، و دلیل دیگر آنکه قوله تعالیٰ: إِن جاءَکُم فاسِقٌ بِنَبَإٍ فَتَبَیَّنُوا[6] مضمون این آیت این است بقولِ فاسقان عمل مکنید و نباید کرد که گمراه نگردید، امامت بظالمان نمیرسد و میل بظالمان نباید کرد[7]...

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[1] از آیه ۳۳ ازسورة الاحزاب (33) [2] اینجا نیز ایک ورق افتاده است [3] از آیه ۱۷۱ ازسورة الاعراف (7) [4] از آیه ۱۱۸ ازسورة البقرة (2) [5] از آیه ۱۱۵ ازسورة هود (11) [6] از آیه ۶ ازسورة الحجرات (49) [7] اینجا از ورقی افتاده است.

وخدای تعالی در کلام مجید خود خبر داده که قوله تعالیٰ وَمَا مُحَمَّدٌ إِلَّا رَسُولٌ قَدْ خَلَتْ مِن قَبْلِهِ الرُّسُلُ[1] یعنی هست محمّدٌ رّسولُ اللهِ إذهم رُسُل الله یعنی محمد علیه السّلام برگزیدهٔ من است، چنانچه فرموده که بسم الله الرحمٰن الرحیم یٰسٓ، وَالْقُرْآنِ الْحَكِيمِ[2] یعنی ای محمّد تو از همه افضلی و از جملهٔ فرستادهٔ منی إِنَّكَ لَمِنَ الْمُرْسَلِينَ عَلَىٰ صِرَاطٍ مُّسْتَقِيمٍ[3] پس معلوم شد که محمّد رسول الله را فرموده است که بر جملهٔ خلقان که ایشان را بنمای راهِ راست تا در گمراهی و ضلالت نمانند، چنانچه خدای تعالی فرموده که قوله تعالیٰ وَمَا يَنطِقُ عَنِ الْهَوَىٰ إِنْ هُوَ إِلَّا وَحْيٌ يُوحَىٰ[4] یعنی پیغمبر علیه السّلام گفتگو و سخن نمی کند از پیش خود بلکه گفتگوهای وی نیست مگر بوحیِ الهام و (آنچه) جبرئیل گوید پس ابن عبّاس رضی الله عنه از زبانِ دُربارِ حضرت رسول علیه السّلام این حدیث نقل نموده اند که قال النبیّ علیه السّلام نَحْنُ معاشِرُ الانبیاءِ لا نُوَرِّثُ إلّا الصَّدَقَةَ ما تَرَكْنَاهُ یعنی گفت پیغمبر علیه السّلام که ما جماعتِ پیغمبران نصب کردهٔ خدای تعالی ایم و کسی دیگر از ما میراث نبرد الّا ذرّیتِ ما که خدای تعالیٰ در شان آنها فرموده که قوله تعالیٰ ذُرِّيَّةً بَعْضُهَا مِن بَعْضٍ وَاللَّهُ سَمِيعٌ عَلِيمٌ[5] یعنی ما گذاشتیم قرآن شریف و اهل بیت خود را درمیانِ شما و آنچه ما گذاشتیم بصدق و یقین و درست از برای آنکه خلق گمراه نگردند تا بندگان را هادی و راه نما باشند و بندگان را بر ما حجّت نباشد چنانچه خدای تعالی فرمود که قوله تعالیٰ لَهُ مُلْكُ السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ[6] وَهُوَ الْعَلِيُّ الْعَظِيمُ[7] آنچه در آسمان هست و در زمین هست وَهُوَ الْعَلِيُّ الْعَظِيمُ یعنی اوست متعالی و بزرگ و بلند مرتبه، چنانچه در قرآن باز فرموده که قوله تعالیٰ إِنِّي جَاعِلُكَ لِلنَّاسِ إِمَامًا[8] یعنی گفت بدرستی که گردانیدیم بر مؤمنان

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[1] از آیه ۱۴۴ از سورهٔ آل عمران (3) [2] آیهٔ اول از سورهٔ یٰسٓ (36) [3] آیه ۲ و ۳ از سورهٔ یٰسٓ (36) [4] آیه ۳ و ۴ از سورهٔ النجم (53) [5] از آیه ۳۰ از سورهٔ آل عمران (3) [6] از آیه ۴۴ از سورهٔ المائدة (5) [7] از آیه ۲۵۶ از سورهٔ البقرة (2) [8] از آیه ۱۱۸ از سورهٔ البقرة (2)

پیشوا امامان را ' قالَ وَمِن ذُرِّیَّتِی گفت ابراہیم وامامان از ذریّت من اند ' قالَ لا یَنالُ عَہدِی الظّالِمِینَ یعنی گفت خدای تعالی این عہد من پاک اند نمیرسد بہ ستمکاران

ونیز در کلام باز فرموده است کہ قوله تعالیٰ ' یا ایّها النّاسُ قَدْ جاءَ کُمْ بُرْهانٌ مِن رَبِّکُم وأنزلنا إلَیکُم نورًا مبیناً[۱] یعنی ای مردمان بدرستی کہ آمد بشما حجّتی از نزد من پروردگار شما و فرو فرستاده نور ظاہر و روشن و پیدا یعنی نور نبوّت و ولایت ' و باز پیغمبر علیہ السّلام گفتہ کہ قال النّبیّ علیہ السّلام ' عاهَدَنی رَبّی أن لاتقبَلَ الإیمانَ مِن عبدٍ إلّا بمحبّةِ علیٍّ واهل البیتِ ' گفت پیغمبر علیہ السّلام کہ عہد کرده است با من خدای تعالی کہ قبول نکنم ایمانِ ہیچ بنده را مگر بدوستی علیؑ و اہل بیت و اولادش ' ترجمہ

حق تعالی با احمدِ مختار ۔۔۔ عہد کرد این و وعده ہا دادش
کہ نگردد قبول ایمانی ۔۔۔ جز بمہر علی و اولادش

قال النّبیّ علیہ السّلام ' مکتوبٌ علی باب الجنّةِ انّ قبلَ خلقَ اللهُ السّمواتِ وَالأرضَ بألف عام وقبل خلق آدم لا الٰہَ الّا اللہ محمّدٌ رسولُ اللہ وعلیٌّ اخوہُ یعنی در بہشت پیش از آفریدن آسمان و زمین و عالم و آدم ہزار سال نوشتہ بود لا الہ الّا اللہ محمّد رسولُ اللہ ' علی برادر محمّد

پیش از آدم بود او ہزار ہزار ۔۔۔ سالہا می نوشت در محبتِ دوست
- بدر بہشتِ جنّت کہ احمد ۔۔۔ نبی است علی برادر اوست
بیت
برطاق عرش نام محمّد نوشتہ اند ۔۔۔ کاتب کہ بود نور نبی ع ل ی[۲]

وباز گفتہ ' قال النّبیّ علیہ السّلام ' مَن لَہ الکذّابُ والبُغضُ فی علیٍّ

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[۱] ۱۷۴ از سورهٔ النساء (۴)
[۲] این ابیات این قدر غلط دارد کہ اصلاح کردن آنہا و بوزن آوردن خیلی مشکل است

لَيْسَت شفاعتي بِنصيبِهِ ونُفِيَ عبادته ونُفِي سخاوته وهو مع باطلٍ في جَسَدِ النّار یعنی گفت پیغمبر علیه السّلام که هر که رابغض علی باشد او از شفاعتِ من بی نصیب باشد واو را نه طاعت ونه عبادت ونه سخاوت روا باشد وجای او در دوزخ باشد چنانچه خدای تعالیٰ در قرآن فرموده که قوله تعالیٰ" لَيْسَ كَمِثْلِهِ شَيْءٌ وهو السّميع البصير له مقاليد السّموات والأرض[1] فإنّ الله خلق آدم على صُورَتِهِ[2] ونَفَخَ فيه من رُوحِهِ[3] یعنی زشت گردانید رویهای خود را[4] بدرستی که خدای تعالیٰ آدم را بصورتِ خود آفریده است ودمیده در او از روح خود، وصورت ایزدی نفس کلّ است وآدم ناطق است در زمان خود بتأیید نفس کلّ بوده، ودر حدّ تأویل وی اشارت است بامام، یعنی زشت گردانید امامان را تا آنکه مخالفان خداوند امام ناحق را امام گیرند که ناطق هر عصر داعی خلایق است بر صورتِ متابعتِ صورتِ امام حق، ومراد از روح ایزدی در این کلمه است چنانچه در قرآن بدین وارد است که قوله تعالیٰ" وكَلِمَتُهُ ألْقاها إلى مَرْيَمَ ورُوحٌ مِنهُ[5] یعنی کلمهٔ حق را که آن روح است از حق تعالیٰ انداخت بجانبِ مریم، ودر این آیت نیز خبر داده که آن نافخ حضرت جلیل عَلَى بَطْنِ مَرْيَم، قولُهُ تعالیٰ" ومَرْيَمَ ابْنَتَ عِمْرانَ الّتي أحْصَنَتْ فَرْجَها فَنَفَخْنا فيهِ مِن رُوحِنا وصَدَّقَتْ بِكَلِماتِ رَبِّها وكُتُبِهِ وكانَتْ مِنَ القانِتِين[7] یعنی مریم دختر عمران آنکه نگه داشت نفسِ خود را پس دمیدیم در او از روح خود، تصدیق بنمود بکلمات[6] خدای تعالیٰ، ودر تأویل دختر کنایت است از حجّت وفرج کنایت از گوش چنانچه در فرج صورت جسمانی بظهور آید از سخن بگوش صورتِ روحانی حاصل می شود، و معنیِ آیت بوجه تأویل آن است که مریم که حجتِ عمران است آنکه نگه داشت گوشِ خود را

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[1] از آیه ۹ از سورة الشوری (42) [2] این عبارت در قرآن نیست [3] از آیه ۸ از سورة السجدة (32) [4] در عبارات عربی شاید چیزی افتاده است [5] از آیه ۱۶۹ از سورة النساء (4) [6] اینجا بکلمات نوشته است [7] آیه ۱۲ از سورة التحریم (66)

از سخنانِ ظاهری تأویل، پس آن کلمهٔ حق بر وجه تأویل او را نصیب شد بدان عیسی روح الله را تربیت کرد، و در آیت ذکرِ دمیدن و ذکر تصدیق بکلمتان پدید می شود که مراد از روح کلمه است، و ذکر مِنَ القانِتِینَ قرین می شود و مریم از حجتان است، و پیغمبران از نسلِ ابراهیم اند، و امامان از نسلِ عمران که قوله تعالیٰ إِنَّ اللّٰهَ اصْطَفَىٰ آدَمَ وَنُوحًا وَآلَ إِبْرَاهِيمَ وَآلَ عِمْرَانَ عَلَى الْعَالَمِينَ ذُرِّيَّةً بَعْضُهَا مِن بَعْضٍ وَاللّٰهُ سَمِيعٌ عَلِيمٌ[1] یعنی ذرّیتِ امامان و پیغمبران از نسلِ یکدیگراند از زمانِ عالم و آدم و خاتم تا به انقراضِ عالم، ترجمه

پیش از بنای دهر بچندین هزار سال ... بودند مصطفی و علی همنشین هم

و خدای تعالی در سورهٔ شوریٰ یاد کرد که قوله تعالیٰ قُلْ لَا أَسْأَلُكُمْ عَلَيْهِ أَجْرًا إِلَّا الْمَوَدَّةَ فِي الْقُرْبَىٰ وَمَن يَقْتَرِفْ حَسَنَةً نَّزِدْ لَهُ فِيهَا حُسْنًا[2] یعنی بگو ای محمد که نمی خواهم از شما بر رسالتِ خود هیچ مزدی از رسولان و اُمّت مزد تبلیغ رسالت نگیرم مگر دوستیِ اہل بیت که آن نزدیک گرداند بنده را بخدای تعالیٰ، و هر که کسب کند نیکی از ذرّیتِ من یعنی طاعتِ مرا و محبتِ آلِ رسول را بصحبت من متقرب شود و بصحبتِ من پیوسته شود، چنانچه پیغمبر علیه السّلام فرموده که قال النبیّ علیه السلام أَنْتَ مِنِّي بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِنْ مُوسَىٰ لَآبَائِهِ الْكِبَارِ وَالْعَالَمِ السَّيَّارِ وَالْبَحْرِ الزَّخَّارِ یعنی کسی را که پیغمبر علیه السّلام برادر و پسرِ عم و جانشینِ خود گوید و جمیع کمربستگان مشرّف اند بخطاب مَنْ كُنْتُ مَوْلَاهُ وَعَلِيٌّ مَوْلَاهُ یعنی گفت پیغمبر علیه السّلام در غدیرِ خم که ای اُمّتِ من بدانید که هر کرا من مولایم علی مولای اوست، و باز گفت که اللّٰهُمَّ وَالِ مَنْ وَالَاهُ وَعَادِ مَنْ عَادَاهُ وَاخْذُلْ مَنْ خَذَلَهُ و دلیل بر صحت

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[1] آیه ۳۰ از سورهٔ آل عمران (3) [2] آیه ۲۲ از سورة الشوری (42)

این حدیث صحیح آمده این است که قال النبیّ علیه السّلام أوّلُ ماخلقَ اللهُ تعالیٰ حجبٌ فکَتَبَ علی جوانبها أنّ لا الٰه الّا الله وأنّ محمّداً رسولُ اللهِ وعلیّاً وصیُّ المُصطفیٰ وخلقَ العرشَ فکَتَبَ علیٰ أرکانه لا الٰه إلّا الله ومحمّدٌ رسول اللهِ وعلیٌّ وَجهُهُ فمَن زعمَ أنْ یجبَ حبَّ النبیّ ولا یجب حُبُّ الوصیِ فقد کذِب ومن زَعَمَ أنّه یَعرِفُ النبیّ ولا یَعرِفُ الوصیّ فقد کَفرَ ثُمّ قال علیه السّلام ألا أهْلَ بیتِی أمانٌ لکُم نُحِبُّهُم لحُبّی فمن یُنکِرُهُم إنّه یَضِلُ فسُئِلَ ومَن أهلُ بَیتِكَ یا ایها النّبیّ قال علیٌّ وسِبطایَ وبقیّةُ الأئمّة من ولد حسین ابی الائمّة المعصومین من الله انهم اهل البیت الخ وقال علیه السّلام ولحمكَ لحمی ودَمُكَ دَمی صدق رسول الله

بسیاری از اصحاب گواهی دادند بر صحّتِ این حدیث که رسول علیه السّلام گفت که اوّل خدای تعالیٰ حجابی بیافرید وبراو نوشت بعد از کلمهٔ توحید که محمّد علیه السّلام رسول خداست وعلی علیه السّلام وصی اوست وآنگه عرش آفرید و بر ارکان عرش قلم را امر شد که بنویس قلم گفت چه بنویسم ندا از عالمِ غیب آمد که بنویس لا اله الّا الله ومحمّد رسول الله قلم سی هزار سال بر عرش رفت تا کلمهٔ لا اله الّا الله محمّد رسول الله نوشت بعد از کلمهٔ تهلیل که محمّد رسول خداست وباز ندا آمد که بنویس قلم گفت چه بنویسم ندا آمد بنویس إنّ أمیرَ المؤمنین علیّاً ولیُّ الله چون قلم نام نهاری را شنود از هیبت شگافته شد وشق گردید وسی هزار سال دیگر بایست تا کلمهٔ إنّ امیرَ المؤمنینَ علیّاً ولیُّ الله را نوشت وگفت که علی علیه السّلام وصی مصطفی است وآنگه زمین را

بیا فرید پس هرکه دعوی کند که من دوستدار رسولِ خدایم و وصی مصطفی علیه السلام را دوست ندارد او دروغ بر محمد علیه السلام گفته باشد الکذاب للأمة بوده باشد وهرکه دعوی کند که پیغمبر علیه السلام می شناسم و وصی او را نمی شناسم او بروز آخر ایمان بر محمد علیه السلام نیاورده باشد و عاصی بوده باشد

پس رسول علیه السلام گفت که قال النبیُّ علیه السلام مَن أَحَبَّ علیاً و اولاده فقد أَحَبَّنِي و من احبنی فقد أَحَبَّ الله یعنی گفت پیغمبر علیه السلام که هرکه محبتِ علی و اولادش بورزد بدرستی که محبتِ مرا ورزیده باشد و هرکه محبت مرا بورزد محبتِ خدای مرا ورزیده باشد

و باز گفت قال النبیّ علیه السلام مَن أَبغَضَ علیاً و اولادُه فقد أَبغَضَنِي و مَن أَبغَضَنِي فقد أَبغَضَ الله یعنی گفت پیغمبر علیه السلام که هرکه بُغض کند با علی و اولادش بدرستی که بغض کرده باشد با من و هرکه بُغض کند با من بدرستی که بُغض کرده باشد با خدای من

پس رسول علیه السلام گفتند بدانید که اهلِ بیت من امامان اند پس دوستیِ ایشان دوستیِ من است و دشمنیِ ایشان دشمنیِ من است، و بعضی از صحابه گفتند که یا رسول الله بگو تا خلق گمراه نمانند، پیغمبر علیه السلام گفتند که قوله تعالیٰ، هَل أَتیٰ عَلَی الإنسانِ حِینٌ مِنَ الدَّهرِ لَم یَکُن شَیئاً مَذکوراً[۱] و جای دیگر فرموده که قوله تعالیٰ إنّما ولیّکم الله و رسولُه[۲] یعنی امیر المؤمنین علی ولیِ خداست و وصی مصطفی است، چنانچه حضرت رسول علیه السلام از حج گذشته بودند و آن حج را حجِ اعلا گویند به مکانی رسیدند که آن را قیمة القدر گویند در شبِ قدر، جبرئیل علیه السلام دررسید

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[۱] آیۀ اول از سورة الانسان (76) [۲] آیه ۶۰ از سورة المائدة (5)

واین آیت را آورد که قوله تعالیٰ یا أیّها الرّسول بلّغ ما أُنزل إلیک من ربّک وإن لم تفعل فما بلّغت رسالته[1] یعنی ای محمّد وصی را نصب کن وامامت علی را بقوم برسان اگر نرسانی نبوّت بر تو مسلّم نباشد بحکم این آیت کریمه که قوله تعالیٰ وکلّ شیءٍ أحصیناه فی إمامٍ مبینٍ[2] یعنی او مبین و دانا است از حال تمام عالم وعالمیان بناست بقول این آیت کریمه که قوله تعالیٰ یا أیّها الّذین آمنوا أطیعوا الله وأطیعوا الرّسول وأولی الأمر منکم[3] یعنی ای گروندگان که ایمان آورده اید بخدا ورسول خدا طاعت دارید او لوالامر او را یعنی شاهِ مردان مرتضی علی کرّم الله وجهه را بحکم أولی الأمر منکم یعنی اشارت بمولانا علی علیه السّلام کرد آنگاه بارهای اشتران را امر کرد تا فرود آوردند و پالانهای اشتران را منبر ساختند ورسول علیه السّلام دست علی لذکره السّجود والتّسبیح را گرفت و بر منبر برآورد و بنشاند وخطبهٔ بلیغ آغاز کرد و گفت که آمنتُ بالله وملائکته ورسله والیوم الآخر یعنی ایمان آوردن است بخدا و بملائکهٔ او و برسولان او و بیوم آخر ویوم آخر شاهِ مردان را خواست و ذرّیت او را خواست وایمان باو واجب است وباز گفت که قال النّبیّ علیه السّلام من کنتُ مولاه فعلیٌّ مولاه یعنی گفت پیغمبر علیه السّلام که هر که را من مولایم علی مولای اوست بحکم إنّما ولیّکم الله[4] پس معلوم شد که علی ولیِ خداست و وصیِ مصطفی است وطاعت ایشان طاعتِ خداست بحکم خدای تعالی أطیعوا الله وأطیعوا الرّسول وأُولی الأمر منکم[5] یعنی ای گروندگانی که ایمان آورده اید بخدا ورسولِ او طاعت دارید أُولوالامرِ او را یعنی مرتضی علی و ذرّیتِ او را[6]

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۱ آیه ۷۱ از سورة المائدة (5) ۲ از آیه ۱۱ از سورة یٰس (36) ۳ از آیه ۶۲ از سورة النساء (4) ۴ از آیه ۶۰ از سورة المائدة (5) ۵ از آیه ۱۱ از سورة یٰس (36) ۶ از اینجا چند ورق افتاده است

ابن عباس رضی اللہ عنہ از زبان حضرت رسول علیہ السلام این حدیث فرمودند کہ قال النبیؐ علیہ السلام نحن معاشر الأنبیاء لا نورث ما ترکناہ إلا صدقۃ یعنی گفت پیغمبر علیہ السلام کہ ما جماعت پیغمبران نصب کردۂ خدای تعالیٰ ایم وکسی دیگر از ما میراث نبرد الا ذریت ما کہ خدای تعالیٰ در شان آنہا فرمودند کہ قولہ تعالیٰ ذُرِّيَّةً بَعْضُهَا مِن بَعْضٍ وَاللَّهُ سَمِيعٌ عَلِيمٌ[1] یعنی گذاشتیم قرآن خویش و اہل بیت را درمیان شما و آنچہ ما گذاشتیم بصدق ویقین درست از برای آنکہ خلق گمراہ نگردند و از زبان حضرت رسول علیہ السلام شنیدہ ایم گفت کہ قولہ تعالیٰ فَهَبْ لِي مِن لَّدُنكَ وَلِيًّا يَرِثُنِي[2] حاصل معنیش این است کہ زکریا دعا کرد بحق تعالیٰ کہ ای پروردگار عالم و عالمیان بدہ بمن ولی کہ از من میراث برد بہمہ حال ببین دروغ و کذب آن ملعونان را کہ باغ فدک وحوالی ومیراث پیغمبر خدا را از فاطمۂ زہرا صلوات اللہ علیہا گرفتند با آنکہ حضرت رسول در زمان حیات خود بحضرت فاطمہ صلوات اللہ علیہا میراث بخشیدہ بودند با آنکہ گواہ بر صاحب تصرف نمی باشد حضرت فاطمہ خیر النساء گواہ گذرانیدند کہ پدرم حضرت رسول علیہ السلام بمن بخشیدہ بود پس آن منافقان و بدبختان روسیاہ ازلی وابدی گواہانش را رد نمودند با آنکہ ہر یک از گواہانش حضرت امیر المؤمنین علی علیہ السلام وام کلثوم وسلمان وبوذر وسہیل ومقداد وجابر انصاری وجمع اہل بیت و دیگر ام ایمن کہ حضرت رسول علیہ السلام اورا بہ بہشت بشارت دادہ بود و در کتاب بخاری ومسلم کہ از عمدۂ کتابہای سنیان است مذکور است کہ حضرت رسول علیہ السلام وجگر گوشۂ او فاطمۂ زہرا صلوات اللہ علیہا از بعض اعدا اندوہگین و آزردہ بودند تا آنکہ از دار دنیا بدار البقاء رحلت نمودند وحضرت رسول علیہ السلام فرمودند

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[1] از آیہ ۳۰ از سورۃ آل عمران (3) [2] از آیہ ۵ از سورۃ مریم (19)

که قال النبیّ علیه السّلام فاطمة بضعةٌ منّی یُؤذینی مایؤذیها
یعنی فاطمهٔ زہرا پارہ از گوشت و روح من است، پس ازین معلوم است که آن اغیار ملعون
ازلی وابدی گشتند چنانچه پیغمبر علیه السّلام فرمودند که قال النبیّ علیه السّلام
من أبغض علیّاً وفاطمة واولادی فقد أبغضنی وَمَنْ أبغضنی فقد
أبغض الله یعنی گفت پیغمبر علیه السّلام که ہر که بغض علی و فاطمه و اولادش بورزد
بدرستی که بغض مرا ورزیده باشد و ہر که بغض مرا بورزد بغض خدای مرا ورزیده باشد
و ہر که بغض خدا و رسول علیه السّلام را بورزد ملعون ازلی و ابدی است
وازابن عباس رضی الله عنه روایت است که رسول علیه السّلام فرمودند که قال
النبیّ علیه السّلام یا علیّ إنّ الله تعالیٰ أزْوَجَكَ فاطمةَ وَجَعَل
صداقها الأرْضَ فمن مَشَی علیها مُبْغِضاً لَهَا مَشَی حراماً یعنی حضرت رسول
علیه السّلام بعلی ابن ابی طالب علیه السّلام گفت که یا علی بدرستی که الله تعالیٰ بعقد تو آورده
است فاطمه را و گردانیده است مہر او را ہمهٔ روی زمین را از شرق عالم تا بمغرب عالم،
پس ہر که بغض حضرت فاطمه را داشته باشد راه رفتن بر روی زمین بروی حرام شد
ای دوستان بچشم انصاف نظر کنید و بنگرید که نا انصافی و بی رحمیِ آن منکران را
که درچه درجه اند که باغ فدک را از جگر گوشهٔ پیغمبر خدا ستاندند بدان که باغ فدک را
دریغ می دارند ازکسی که جمیع روی زمین مہر ویست، وعہد غدیر خم را بشکستند و وصیت نامهٔ
پیغمبر خدا را واپس نمودند
بدان که چون غصب باغ فدک و ظلم بر فاطمه صلوات الله علیها بغایت ظاہر و واضح
بود بنابرآن جماعتی از خلفای بنی اُمیه و بنی عباس بودند میخواستند که انصافی داشته باشند

وباغ فدک را باولاد فاطمه واپس دادند، اوّل ایشان عمر بن عبدالعزیز است که صالح بنی اُمیّه بود، وبعد از آن از بنی عباس مأمون ومعتصم وواثق باز فدک را بتصرف اولاد فاطمه علیها السّلام دادند، وبعد از آن نوبت بمتوکّل رسید فدک را از ایشان گرفت وبعد از آن معتضد فدک را تسلیم اولاد فاطمه صلوات الله علیها نمودند، وبعد از آن مکتفی باز گرفت وبعد از آن مقتدر باز باولاد فاطمه تسلیم نمود، ودر کتاب لطائف الطّوائف نقل شده که روزی هارون الرّشید بحضرت موسی کاظم گفت که فدک را محدود کن تا بتو بگذارم که می دانم که در این باب ظلم بر اهل بیت رفته است، حضرت موسی کاظم گفتند که اگر حدّ فدک را از برای تو ذکر کنم ترا دل باز ندهد که بمن باز گذاری، هارون سوگند یاد کرد که میگذارم، حضرت موسی کاظم علیه السّلام گفت که حدّ اوّل عدن است، رنگ هارون از این سخن بگشت، وگفت دیگر بگو آن حضرت گفت حدّ دوّم سمرقند است، رنگ هارون زرد شد، وگفت دیگر بگو آن حضرت فرمودند حدّ سیوم افریقهٔ مغرب است، رنگ هارون از زردی بسرخی گشت، از غایت غضب گفت دیگر بگو که آن حضرت گفتند که حدّ چهارم دریای ارمنه است، رنگ هارون از سرخی بسیاهی مبدّل گشت، ومدّتی سر در پیش افگند وبعد از آن سر بر آورد وگفت ای کاظم تو حدود ممالک ما را نام بردی یعنی آنچه از ممالک که در تصرّف ماست حق بنی فاطمه است وبنی عبّاس بر اهل بیت ظلم کرده اند، حضرت موسی کاظم گفت ای هارون من اوّل ترا گفتم که باین حدود در اضی نخواهی گشت وتو از من نشنیدی...[1]

ثابت شد که بتحقیق امامان بحق ائمهٔ اسماعیلیه اند که دامن ایشان از آلایش معصیت پاک ومنزّه است وهمیشه ایشان را حجّتی وداعی ومأذونی ومعلّمی باشد که

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[1] از اینجا ظاهراً چند ورق افتاده است

از او خداشناسی و خدادانی آموزند و دائم مراتب ارکان دین داری نگاه دارند و حق را محق وقت شناسند و نظر ایشان بر قول محق باشد، و چون محق پدید آید کسی را نرسد که گوید تو چنین می کنی و چنان می گوئی من پیروی قول تو می کنم نه از فعل تو زیراکه ستر آن فعل را او می داند و آن کس که چنین گوید با او هم سری جسته باشد نعوذ بالله، و خدای تعالی در قرآن شریف یاد کرده که قوله تعالی، اَللّٰهُ یَفْعَلُ مَا یَشَاءُ[1] وَ یَحْکُمُ مَا یُرِیْدُ[2] یعنی می کند آنچه می خواهد و حکم می کند آنچه ارادت دارد، و جای دیگر می فرماید که قوله تعالی، لَا یُسْأَلُ عَمَّا یَفْعَلُ وَهُمْ یُسْئَلُوْنَ[3] یعنی از افعال خدا نپرسند که چه می کند، اما از بندگان خاص و حجتان و داعیان او پرسیده شود که چه می کنند، وگاه باشد که فعل او از بهر آسایش بندگان باشد اگر نه نعوذ بالله نظر بندگان اگر بر فعل او باشد هم بقهر آزمایش وگرفتار شوند، وگاه باشد که او از روی حقیقت باشد بندگان از عالم اضافه که در آن اند نگاه بآن نتوانند کرد، و این ممکن نیست که در عالم اضافه عالم حقیقت را دریابند و بر ستر آن وقوف یابند، هر که بنظر اضافه در عالم حقیقت بیند چنان باشد که از کون حقیقت او دور افتاده باشد و از خدا بیفتد و بعدم جاودانی گرفتار شود، و آن کس که گوید که امام باید چنین کند یا چنان نکند گفته باشد که من محتم و امام تابع من باید بود، پس او ایمان بامام نیاورده باشد، و این بمثابهٔ آن باشد که حیوانی که ناقص است نسبت بانسان کند و گوید انسان را که اکمل است تابع من باید بود، و عناصر گوید نبات را تابع من باید و این تعبیر معکوسی و آزگونگی چیزی دیگر نباشد، و بقرآن حکایت این طائفه می آید که قوله تعالی، وَیُعَذِّبَ الْمُنَافِقِیْنَ وَالْمُنَافِقَاتِ وَالْمُشْرِکِیْنَ وَالْمُشْرِکَاتِ (الی آخرها) وَغَضِبَ اللّٰهُ عَلَیْهِمْ وَلَعَنَهُمْ وَاَعَدَّ لَهُمْ جَهَنَّمَ وَسَاءَتْ مَصِیْرًا[4]

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[1] از آیه ۴۰ از سورة آل عمران (3) [2] از آیه اول از سورة المائدة (5) [3] آیه ۲۳ از سورة الانبیاء (21)
[4] آیه ۶ از سورة الفتح (48)

و در قیامت ایشان را نگون سار بیاویزند و عذاب کنند ایشان گویند که ای پروردگار ما آنچه دیدنی بود دیدیم و آنچه شنودنی بود شنیدیم ما را باز گردان که آنچه از دست ما بیاید عمل نیکو بکنیم یعنی با مر تو نیکو بکنیم بدرستی که یقین شد ما را وخدای تعالیٰ فرموده که قوله تعالیٰ شَغَلَتْنَا أَمْوَالُنَا وَأَهْلُونَا[1] بفریاد نمی رسد که گوئی باهل و مال خود مشغول بودیم و توفیق نیافتیم و در حقّ موقفان چنین یاد کرده که قوله تعالیٰ نَاكِسُوا رُءُوسِهِمْ عِنْدَ رَبِّهِمْ رَبَّنَا أَبْصَرْنَا وَسَمِعْنَا فَارْجِعْنَا نَعْمَلْ صَالِحًا إِنَّا مُوقِنُونَ[2]

و این طائفهٔ محقّهٔ اسماعیلیان هرگز نظر بفعل محقّان روزگار نکنند بلکه نظر بقول محقّان دارند چه آموزنده نسبت با موزنده گار نسبت گوش دارد با زبان و نسبت زن با مرد گوش را از زبان باید شنودن و زن را از مرد نطفه قبول باید کردن

و نیز شریعت عالم جسمانی است و طریقت و حقیقت عالم روحانی و فعل از عالم جسمانی است و قول از عالم روحانی و این طائفهٔ محقّه چون از عالم جسمانی که کون شریعت است گذشته اند و بعالم روحانی که کون حقیقت است رسیده اند و ایشان را نظر بر قبول که عالم روحانیست داشته باشند ...[3]

در بیان روح می آید که قوله تعالیٰ قُلِ الرُّوحُ مِنْ أَمْرِ رَبِّي[4] و گفت خدای تعالیٰ چون روح از عالم امر باشد زنده است که امر خدای تعالیٰ با او پیوسته باشد و هرگه آن از او بگسلد آن روح از او جدا گشته باشد و او مرده باشد و پیوستن امر بکسی از راه قول است نه از فعل و معنی امر فرمودن است و اهل ظاهر از آن مرده اند که نامور امر محق روزگار نیستند چون امر با یشان نمی پیوندد روح ندارند مرده اند

دیگر آنکه چون فهم و عقل مردم متفاوت است هر کسی را بطریقی باید بود که موجب او

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[1] از آیه ۱۱ از سورة الفتح (48) [2] از آیه ۱۲ از سورة السجده (32) [3] از اینجا ظاهرا ورقی افتاده است
[4] از آیه ۸۷ از سورة الاسرٰی (17)

کمال او باشد و چنان باید دانست که بفهم او فرو د آید که چون طریق نجات در آن است که این بتعلیم هادی و راه بر باشد که آن حجّت اعظم است، و نمی تواند که بعلم نسبت باهر کسی فعل جداگانه کند چه فعل بیش از یکی نمی تواند بود، امّا باضافه هر کس سخن باندازهٔ فهم او توان گفت، پس ثابت کردیم که نظرِ آموزنده باید که بر فعلِ معلّم نباشد بلکه نظر بر قولِ او داشته باشند و مأمور امر او باشند هر چه فرمایند

واسماعیلیانِ عالم آنان اند که با خود قرار داده اند که در رنج و راحت فی الشدّة والرضی والیأس والنعما بالحق وقت بسر برند و در نصرت یکدیگر بکوشند بغایت جهد و طاقت، هر عزلتی که کنند و بهر امتحان که محقّ وقت کند پای بدارند، و در قرآن شریف می آید که قوله تعالیٰ، وَلَنَبْلُوَنَّكُمْ بِشَيْءٍ مِنَ الْخَوْفِ وَالْجُوعِ وَنَقْصٍ مِنَ الْأَمْوَالِ وَالْأَنْفُسِ وَالثَّمَرَاتِ تا وَأُولَٰئِكَ هُمُ الْمُهْتَدُونَ[1] می فرماید بدرستی که بیازمائیم شمارا بچیزی از ترس و گرسنگی و تنگی و نقصان در مالها و نفسهای ایشان و فرزندان بشارت ده ای محمّد صبر کنندگان را آنانیکه چون مصیبتی با ایشان رسد گویند ما مر خدا را ئیم و ما بسوی خدا باز گردندگانیم در هر حالی آنها آن کسانی اند که بدیشان درودها و رحمتهاست از پروردگار ایشان، آنهایند که راه راست یافتگانند از روی دین، چنانچه زمین و آسمان همه ملک مولاناست لِلّٰهِ مُلْكُ السَّمٰوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ[2] و هر چه موجوداست بطوعاً و کرهاً مولانا را گردن نهاده اند وَلِلّٰهِ يَسْجُدُ مَنْ فِي السَّمٰوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ طَوْعًا وَكَرْهًا[3] رنجها را از بهر حق و خداوندانِ دور، بستر داشته باشند از راحتها که در دنیا بآنها می آید بر بستر يَفْرَحُونَ عَلَى الْبَلَاءِ فِي اللّٰهِ عالم بلطفِ چنین کسان می زیند تا مادامیکه این کس یک سرِ موی خود را در میان می بیند بحکم این حدیث که

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[1] آیه ۱۵۰ و ۱۵۱ از سورة البقرة (2) [2] از آیه ۱۸۶ از سورة آل عمران (3) [3] آیه ۱۶ از سورة الرعد (13)

لَوْخَلَتِ الأَرْضُ مِن إمامٍ ساعةً لَمادَتْ بِأَهْلِها یعنی گفت پیغمبر علیه السلام که اگر خالی شود جهان از امام زمان یک لحظه و یک لمعه و یک ساعت و یک چشم زدن جهان و اهل جهان نیست و هلاک شوند، و روزی صد هزار بار نظر بر آفرینش عالم می کند تا دنیا برقرار بماند بحکم این حدیث نبوی که قال النبیّ علیه السّلام، مَنْ ماتَ وَلَمْ یَعْرِفْ إمامَ زمانِهِ فقد ماتَ میتةً جاهلیةً والجاهلُ فی النّار یعنی هر که بمیرد و امام زمان خود را نداند و نشناسد مرگش مرگ جاهلان باشد و جای جاهلان آتش دوزخ است، و نیز در قرآن شریف می آید که قوله تعالیٰ، یَوْمَ نَدْعُو کُلَّ أُناسٍ بِإمامِهِم[1] یعنی گفت خدای تعالیٰ یاد کنید ای بندگان من آن روزی را که می خوانم هر گروهی را با امام و پیشوای ایشان واهل تضادّ آنها اند که خود را در میان بینند و خدای را نه، و آن کَون کفر است و اهل تضادّ باشند و بوحدت نرسیده باشند، و اهل ترتّب آنهایند که خود را و خدای را ببینند و آن شرک است و نفاق، و اهلِ وحدت آنها اند که همه خدای را بینند و خود را نه، و نه مستغرقات خود را و هستی خود را چنان در خدا مستغرق شده باشند که جز خدای را هیچ نبینند و ندانند و خود را جز خدا نیست دانند، و این است کَونِ وحدت و حقیقت و عالمِ خدا و خدائی

پس اهلِ تضادّ سعی آن باید کرد که تا بترتّب رسند، و اهل ترتّب را سعی آن باید کرد که بوحدت رسند، و اهلِ وحدت را سعی باید کرد که تمام مراتب وحدت صاحب یقین شوند و دانستن ایشان با یکدیگر چنان باشد که هر کس رفیق را از خود بهتر خواهد و بجان در کار رفتن بکوشد و هیچ چیز از او باز نماند و تصرف او در همه چیز بتصرفِ خود داند، شریعت این طائفه است و حقیقت آنکه غیر از مولانا جلّ ذکره هیچ چیز نبینند و ندانند و خود را و

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[1] از آیه ۷۳ از سورة الاسریٰ (۱۷)

رفیق را و هرچه باشد از بهرِ مولانا خواهند، مولانا همه را توفیق طاعت دها و و رحمتِ خود همه را روزی کناد إنّهُ ذلك وهو حسبنا وحده وكفى

و میگویند در زمانِ پیغمبر مولانا علی بود و بعد از او مولانا حسن واو امام مستودَع بود یعنی امامت پیش او با مانت بود و او میان حجّت باطن و حجّت ظاهر است نه باین باطنی و بآن ظاهری، و از این جهت امامت بفرزندانِ او نقل نکرد، و امام مستقرّ مولانا حسین بود یعنی امامت پیش او برقرار بود، همچنانکه مولانا اسماعیل که او را ملک السلام خواندندی امام مستقرّ بود و امام موسی کاظم مستودَع، در قرآن شریف نیز می گوید که فَمُسْتَقَرٌّ وَمُسْتَوْدَعٌ قَدْ فَصَّلْنَا الْآيَاتِ لِقَوْمٍ يَفْقَهُونَ[1] یعنی گفت خدای تعالی که شما را جای قرارگاه است و جای امانت پس تحقیق بیان کردیم نشانهای خود را برای قوم که فهم کنند، و در کلام باز میگوید که قوله تعالی، وَمَا مِنْ دَابَّةٍ فِي الْأَرْضِ إِلَّا عَلَى اللَّهِ رِزْقُهَا وَيَعْلَمُ مُسْتَقَرَّهَا وَمُسْتَوْدَعَهَا كُلٌّ فِي كِتَابٍ مُبِينٍ[2] یعنی گفت خدای تعالی از آسمان تا بر زمین چیزی که اهل الله اند رزق دهنده دو کس اند مستقرّ و مستودَع روشن و پیدا

و بعد از او مولانا زین العابدین و مولانا محمّد باقر و مولانا جعفر صادق و مولانا اسماعیل نقل است که بعد از امام جعفر صادق علیه السّلام در میان فرزندانِ خودش دعوی افتاد هرکدام دعوی نمودند، و امامیه گویند موسی کاظم بود گویم امامت بنصّ است و نصِّ اوّل بر مولانا اسماعیل بود، و بعد از این بر موسی کاظم و کسی که امام بود زمین و آسمان با او برپا باشد چیزی را مصلحت بیند که عقل و فهم ما بندگان بآن نرسد، و نیز تا آن زمان که نصّ با دیگری کرد در امامتِ مولانا اسماعیل شبهت نبود، و از آنِ موسی کاظم در حال نصّ کردند شبهه

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[1] از آیه ۹۸ از سورة الانعام (6) [2] آیه ۸ از سورة هود (11)

پیدا شد، ونیز اگر او امام بودی بایستی که بر پسرش حسن عسکری منقطع نشدی، وما در باب پیشین اثبات انقطاع آن کردیم، امّا از جانب مولانا اسماعیل در هر زمان یکی از ذرّیّتِ او قائم است و عمر ایشان چون عمر اهل زمان است و دائم چند تن را راه باو باشد و هر که بجدّ و جهد طلب کند بیابد و وعده هائی که در قرآن و حدیث آمده است بظهور قیامت و قائم و رفع شرائع و جزای بندگان چنانچه در باب آن بیاید همه در باب فرزندان مولانا اسماعیل بظهور آمد و می آید

وبعد از مولانا اسماعیل مولانا محمّد و مولانا رضی الدّین احمد و مولانا وفی الدّین محمّد و مولانا تقی الدّین محمّد و مولانا مهدی عبدالله، واو در مغرب ظهور کرد و حدیث پیغمبر علیه السّلام که قال النّبیّ علیه السّلام سَتَطْلُعُ الشمس من المغرب علی رأسِ ثلاث مائة سنةٍ اشارت بظهور اوست یعنی آفتابِ امامت برآید از مغرب پس از سیصد سال از هجرت رسول علیه السّلام، چنانچه ظهور کرد در بلاد مغرب شام و مصر را مسخّر کرد و مهدیه را ساخت و مصر را از قحطی باز خرید وبعد از او محمّد قائم و مولانا منصور و مولانا المعزّ المعروف، وقاهرۀ مصر او ساخت، و مولانا عزیز و مولانا حاکم واو حکما را جمع کرد تا سدّهٔ زیج بنام او بنوشتند و سدّهٔ زیجِ حاکمیِ ایشان مشهور است و خواجه نصیر در تحریر مجسطی ذکر آن کرده، وبعد از او مولانا ظاهر وبعد از او مولانا قاهر[۱] وبعد از او مولانا مستنصر بالله

ومن از بلخ بمصر رفتم و بزیارت مشرف شدم و کار من بدان سرعت رسید که داعی الدّعات خراسان و بدخشان شدم، و مرا حواله ببدخشان کرد و کار جدّم حضرت بابا سیّدنا نیز بدان سرعت رسید که عنایت تمام در کار او شدم

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[۱] این غلط است چونکه بعد از مولانا ظاهر مولانا مستنصر بود

ومولانا نزار که نقشِ امامت براو بود بسیّدنا سپرد واورا حجتِ اعظمِ خود گردانید و دیلمان وطارم وآل وحید راباد را حوالهٔ او کرد، وبعد ازاو مولانا هادی ومولانا مهتدی و مولانا قاهر ومولانا حسن عَلیٰ ذکره السلام واو بند واغلال را از گردنِ بندگانِ خود برداشتند، واز تاریخ اعظم سابق صد وهشتاد هزار سال بسرآمده بود وپیغمبر علیه السلام در تاریخ تعیین نموده بود وآنچه موسی در توریت وعیسی در انجیل ذکر کرده وداؤد در زبور و ابراهیم در صحف وزردشت در کتاب زند وبوسعید مانوی در کتاب انکلیون وهمه نشانهای انبیا بامولانا حسن عَلیٰ ذکره السّلام بوده، وبعد ازاو مولانا ضیاء الدین محمد ومولانا جلال الدّین حسن ومولانا علاء الدّین محمّد ومولانا رکن الدّین محمّد ومولانا خورشاه ومولانا شمس الدّین محمّد ومولانا مؤمن شاه ومولانا قاسم شاه ابن قاسم شاه و مولانا عماد الحق والدّین سلام ومولانا سلام شاه ابن سلام شاه ومولانا غریب شاه ومولانا بوذرعلی ومولانا شاه مراد ومولانا شاه ذوالفقار ومولانا شاه نورالدّهر ومولانا شاه دین خلیل الله ومولانا شاه سیّد ابوالحسن علی[1] ومولانا شاه سیّد ابوالحسن وبعد ازاو مولانا قائم بامرالله وقائم العصر والزّمان صاحب الجود والکرم صاحبنا وخداوندنا وواقفِ اسرارِ خفی وجلی مولانا شاه خلیل الله لذکره السّجود والتّسبیح، هم براین قاعده که گفته شد باید امام فرزند امام باشد واز ذرّیت امامانِ پیشین باشد چنانچه خدای تعالیٰ فرموده که قوله تعالیٰ: ذُرِّيَّةً بَعْضُهَا مِن بَعْضٍ وَاللَّهُ سَمِيعٌ عَلِيمٌ[2] والحق صفاتِ نیک واخلاقِ پسندیده ومعرفتی که بخدا وخدائی رساند چنانچه در حدیث قدسی فرموده که قال النّبیّ علیه السّلام: مَعْرِفَةُ اللهِ مَعْرِفَةُ إِمَامِ زَمَانِهِ، این است کونِ وحدت ومرتبهٔ همیشگی وجاودانی، وآنچه همهٔ

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[1] ترتیب این اسماء ظاهراً غلطی دارد [2] از آیه ۳۰ از سورهٔ آل عمران (3)

انبیا و نیکان از برای آن معنی آمده اند و بحمد مولانا جلّ ذِکْرُهُ وعَظَمَتْ کلمتُهُ که افضلِ
جمیع انبیا اوست بحقیقت امروز در این طائفهٔ محقه موجود است بحقِّ حقیقه مولانا بفضل و
رحمت خود همه را بشاه راهِ صراط المستقیم هدایت کناد و توفیق فرمان برداری حجّتِ او که در
رحمت اوست بر عالم و عالمیان گشاده گرداناد وَإِنَّهُ ولی ذٰلکَ هو حسبنا
و مولانا وحده و کفی

باب چهارم در معنی نبوّت و وصایت و تنزیلِ قرآن و تأویلِ آن بتوفیق مولانا
مولانا توفیق دهاد که آنچه حق است گفته شود که او بر زبان بندهٔ خود براند

و درین باب و بابهای گذشته واین باب بتخصیص ببابهای آینده بعض سخنان میرود
که آن اضافه باعقول ضعیف گفته میشود امّا آنانکه قوی فهم اند خود بستر آن برسند
گوییم که نبی از روی لغت آگاه کننده است و مرسل آنکه او را بقوم فرستند که ایشان
را بیاگاهانند و او را اولوالعزم گویند از بهر آنکه شریعت نو بنهد و تغییر احکام گذشته بکند
چون مقصود کل آفرینش آن است که معرفتِ باری تعالی حاصل شود و محال است که
کسی معرفتِ چیزی حاصل کند مادامیکه برصورت وصفت آن چیز مطّلع نباشد و برصورت
وصفتِ ملک تعالی راه انسان را نیست و تفصیل این در باب امامت می آید و همهٔ موجودات
نسبت بانسان وجود یافتند هم درصورت و هم در معنی و بجز انسان هیچ موجودی را
این نسبت نیست

و امّا درصورت از بهر آنکه می بینیم که انسان احسن تقویم است و هر چیزی که محتاج اوست
از آلات و ادراکات و آنچه او بآن تواند زیست و کشش منفعت بسوی خود تواند کرد و مضرّت
از خود تواند راند با خود دارد و همهٔ موجودات ظاهر را از جواهر و اعراض درک تواند و هریک بآلتی

که لایق آن باشد در تصرّف خود تواند آورد و در معنی از بهر آنکه انسان مخصوص است بفکر
وعقل واین دو آلت اندکه بآن نیک را از بد جدا تواند کرد و معقولات وحقائق موجودات را
درک تواند کرد و بمعرفت باری تعالی واصل توان شد اگر عقل او آمیخته و با وَهم نباشد،
وهمچنین اخلاق حمیده مثل کرم ومروّت وحلم وشجاعت وصفات پسندیده چون علم وقدرت
وکلام وبیان همه مخصوص است بانسان ودر غیر انسان نیست وقوّتِ الٰهی که همهٔ موجودات
بآن قایم است درمرتبهٔ تمام ظاهر می شود، یعنی هرچه درهمهٔ موجودات از معانی الٰهی متفرّق
است دراو جمع می شود، پس او بحسب ذات وصفات کامل باشد واین از برای آن
است که سرشتِ او از همهٔ موجودات است که مِن کُلِّ شَیْءٍ لَهُ لطیفةٌ فی مُسْتَوْدَعٍ
وفی هذا المجموع، حقیقت او را عبور بر ملکوتِ همهٔ موجودات است ودر هر عالم که عبور
کند حقیقت وصفت آن عالم با او همراه شود، اگر چنین نبودی از حقایق موجودات خبر ندای
وواقف نگشتی، در عالم سموات که درآید حرکتِ شوقی وانبعاثِ وحی در او پیدا شود بسوی
مبدأ خود واز آنجا انواری که در انسان است با او همراه شود، وچون در عالم عناصر درآید
طبیعتِ گرمی وسردی وتری وخشکی که از اجتماع آن اعتدالِ مزاج حاصل شود با او همراه شود
وبعد از آن در عالم موالید درآید اوّل انعقاد پذیرد و تا موجب اتمام و بهم پیوستگی اجزای
او شود و موجب ثبوت وسکون او گردد، و دیگر روحِ نامیه پذیرد تا سبب موالید او شود
واز آنجا شهوت وطعام وشراب وقوّتِ تولید دراو پیدا شود، واین قوتها در نخلیات یعنی
درخت خرما بیشتر از همهٔ موجودات است چه او از جایگاه دور آب کشد واز یک دانهٔ او
بسی دانها حاصل شود

ودیگر روح حیوانی پذیرد تا سبب حیات وادراکات او گردد واز آنجا قوّت غضبی و

حسّی دراو پیدا شود که بقوّت غضبی دفع مضرّت از خود کند و بقوّت حسّی تمیز کند میان بایست و نبایست؛ و دیگر روح انسانی پذیرد و آن عالم خرد و هوش است که بآن حقیقت چیزهای را به بیند و دریابد و بمعرفتِ باری تعالیٰ رسد

چون نمودیم که در سرشتِ او قوّت طعام و شربت و قوّت عقل که خرد و هوش است همه جمع است پس معنیِ دیوی و فرشتگی و انسانی دراو موجود باشد؛ بیت

دیو و سبُع و فرشته و انسانی   با تُست هر آنچه غالب آید آنی

پس بضرورت کسی هم از نوع انسانی باید که ایشان را آگاه کننده باشد و ایشان را از دیوی و سبُعی بمرتبهٔ فرشتگی و انسانی آورد و از اخلاق بد باخلاق نیک و از جهل بمعرفت رساند؛ و این معنی میسّر نشود بی آنکه ایشان را از چیزی بترساند و بچیزی امید دهد؛ و چون انسان از ابتدا بغیر از محسوسات و لذّت و الم حسّی دیگر نداند واجب باشد نبی را که معنیِ دیوی و سبُعی بصورتِ حسّی تمثیل کند و از آن بترساند آنچنانکه گوید جای بدکاران دوزخ است و دوزخ را گوید جای پُر آتش است و در آنجا مار و کژدم و زقوم است و همچنین معنیِ فرشتگی انسان را بصورت حسّی تمثیل کند و گوید جای نیکوکاران بهشت است و آن بوستان است و در آنجا طعامها و شرابهای خوب و حوران و پسرانِ مرغوب؛ و نبی همیشه چنین کند که معانیِ معقولات را بصورت محسوس ادا کند چه او را سخن بباید گفت که براندازهٔ عقول قوی و ضعیف هم باشد و ضعیف الّا محسوس را نداند و با او سخن از غیر محسوس نتواند گفت و قوی خود بسترِ آن برسد؛ و باید که این نبی حکمی بکند و قاعده و قراری بگذارد که اهل آن زمان را بر آن حکم و قاعده بباید رفت تا سبب نظامِ عالم دنیا شود باید که حکم بر همه کس یکسان کند تا هر کس دعویِ خصوصیّت نکند و بر یکدیگر زیادتی نجویند که موجب خرابیِ عالم باشد؛ و چون

در هر مدّتی احوالِ مردم بر نهجِ دیگر باشد واجب گردد که بحسب تأثیراتِ اختران و خاصیتِ دَوَران در هر مدّتی شریعتِ نو پیدا شود، واگر این نبی صاحب کتاب باشد باید که سخنِ او در کتاب متشابه آید و پُر امثله تا اهلِ ظاهر که در مرتبهٔ حسّ بمشابهِ حیوانات مانده اند بظاهرِ آن سخن و آن امثله بروند که آن بمشابهِ کاه و برگ است، واهلِ باطن که حقیقتِ چیزها را باز جویند واز مرتبهٔ حسّی بمرتبهٔ عقل و فهم رَوَند بمعانیِ آن سخنان و مسئله برسند

و چون نمودیم که ظاهرِ شریعت از بهرِ ضبطِ احکامِ دنیاست که همیشه گردنده است از حالی بحالی چنانکه احوالِ دنیاست پس باطنِ شریعت از بهرِ ضبطِ احکامِ آخرت و حقیقت باشد، واحکامِ آخرت و حقیقت باید که هرگز تغییر و تبدیل نیابد چه آن عالمِ خدا و خدائیست و عالمِ خدا و خدائی هرگز متغیّر و گردنده نشود و حق بمعانی ثابت است و حقیقت عالمِ حق است و عالمِ ثابت همیشه ثابت باشد، و ما نیز موجوداتِ عالم را می یابیم که ظاهرِ آن از حالی بحالی نقل می کند و باطنِ او که قوّتِ الٰهیست هرگز از حالی بحالی نمیگردد، پس همچنین ظاهرِ شریعت که حکم بر ظاهرِ موجودات است گردنده باشد و باطن آنکه بیانِ حقایقِ موجودات است و عالمِ حقایق از عالمِ الٰهیست هرگز نگردد و همچنانکه شخصی می باید که ظاهرِ شریعت را برپای دارد و حکم بر همه یکسان کند و سخن متشابه گوید و ضبطِ احکامِ دنیا کند و او را نبی خوانند همچنین شخصی باید که باطنِ شریعت را برپای دارد و چون مردم متفاوتند اگرچه ظاهرِ ایشان بهم ماند او تمیز کند میانِ ایشان و حکمِ او بر همه یکسان نباشد، و سخنانِ متشابه و امثله که آن رانبی براندازهٔ عقولِ مردم گفته باشد او اهلِ حقیقت را از آن متشابه بدر آورد و معانیِ آن امثله را بمعقولات که نبی در محسوسات ادا کرده باشد، و از این امثله و از آن محسوسات جُدا کند، و چون شریعت ظاهرِ حقیقت است و حقیقت باطنِ شریعت د

ظاهر عنوان باطن است و شریعت مثال است و حقیقت ممثول و مثال باید که متابع ممثول باشد و چون عالم حقیقت که عالم خدائیست در دار آخرت زنده است بدین معنی که اِنَّ الدَّارَ الآخِرَةَ لَهِیَ الْحَیَوَانُ [1] یعنی حیات و زندگی نیست الا مردم را پس باید که هر چه در شریعت مثال آمده باشد مثل نماز و روزه و حج و زکوة و قرآن حقیقت آن مردم باشد پس نماز مردمی و روزه مردمی و زکوة مردمی و قرآن مردمی و همه چیز همچنین و همچنانکه بیان کنندهٔ مثال شخصی بود که بظاهر شریعت استاده باشد و آن شخصی باید بیان کنندهٔ ممثول باشد که بباطن شریعت استاده باشد و این شخص را وصی خوانند و در قرآن نیز می آید که ابراهیم وصیت کرد پسر خویش را و گفت لَا تُشْرِكْ بِاللّٰهِ إِنَّ الشِّرْكَ لَظُلْمٌ عَظِيمٌ [2] پس کونِ مشارکت و مشابهت کونِ ظلم باشد و آن کونِ کونِ ظاهر است چه شرک و ظلم از آن بالاتر نبود که کسی با علی علیه السلام یکسان باشد، و کونِ حقیقت آن باشد که مردم را از آن اشتراک و مشابهت که کونِ ظلم و شرک است بدر آورد و آن وصایتست، و معنیِ وصی کردن آن است که کسی را بر مال و فرزند و همهٔ چیز خود حاکم گرداند تا بعد از او هر چیزی را بمصرفِ خود برساند، پس همچنین چون نبی ظاهرِ شریعت را اقامت کرد وصی را بر مال او که شرع و کتاب وست و فرزندانِ او که اُمتِ اویند حاکم گردد، و چون شرع و کتاب مشتمل بر ظاهر و باطن است فرزندان بتفاوت میراث برند و تنزیل از ظاهر معانی کتاب است بطریقی که احکام شریعت بدان برپای شد، و چون نبی با همه کس سخن برابر گوید چنانکه در حال حیات خود فرزندان را برابر چیزی دهد و بسیار تفاوت ننهد، اگر از اهل تنزیل باشد ایشان را تنزیل گوید و اگر از اهل تأویل باشد ایشان را از تأویل گوید و آنچه فراخور عقل و فهم هر کس باشد بگوید

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[1] از آیه ۶۴ از سورة العنکبوت (29) [2] از آیه ۱۲ از سورة لقمان (31)

و ما بدین دلیل روشن کردیم که همچنانکه در تأویل غیر وصی را نرسد و هر ناطقی را وصی بوده است چنانچه آدم را مولانا شیث، و نوح را مولانا سام، وابراهیم را مولانا اسماعیل، وموسی را مولانا هارون، وعیسی را مولانا شمعون، ومحمّد رسول الله را مولانا علی

وحدیث مولانا علی لذکره السّجود والتّسبیح در همهٔ کتب احادیث وجمیع روایات ثابت است و ما در باب گذشته بدلائل عقلی ونقلی اثبات کردیم وسرّ آنکه حضرت رسول علیه السّلام مولانا را فرموده که ادای وام من او کند آن بود که چون نبی سخن متشابه گفته بود وامّت را از آن بیرون نیاورده وآن امری بود در گردن او علیه السّلام، ومولانا ادای آن وام کرد که مردم از کَوْن متشابهت وگمراهی در ظاهر شریعت بدر آورد وبعالم پیدائی در عالم حقیقت رسانید.

وتنزیل از نزول آن است که چیزی از عالم علوی بسفلی آید، یعنی از بلندی به پستی، و تأویل از اوّل است واوّل چیزی باصل خود رسانیدن است، وظاهر فرع است وسفلی عالم ثابت وباقی است، پس صاحب تأویل آن کس باشد که سخن را از ظاهر خود بگرداند وبحقیقت آن برساند ومردم را بآن بینا گرداند، ونبی را عقل کلّ واوّل وسابق وکرسی وقضا وقلم وناطق وظاهر وسما ویوم ونهار ومدینه ومتحرّک ومنزل ومنسوخ گویند

ووصی را نفس کلّ واساس وثانی ونامی ولوح وقدر ونون وصامت وباطن وارض ولیل وباب وساکن ومؤوّل وناسخ خوانند، ونبی ووصی را با هم اساسین گویند وعقل ونفس را با هم عقلین گویند وچون نطق از خواص نفس ناطقه است پس ناطق مدد از نفس کلّ یابد وتأیید از نفس کلّ باو رسد وتعیین از آن بوجهی کنند، وهیچ ناطقی معصوم از ذلّتی نیست چنانچه در قصّهٔ انبیاء ودر قرآن می آید وتأیید نفس کلّ نگاه

میدارد اورا از آنکه در آن خطا باشد چنانچه در شأن پیغمبر می آید که وَلَوْلَا أَنْ ثَبَّتْنَاكَ لَقَدْ كِدْتَ تَرْكَنُ إِلَيْهِمْ شَيْئًا قَلِيلًا[۱] یعنی اگر نه آن بودی که ترا بر پای بداشتیم بدرستی که نزدیک بود که میلی کنی بسوی اهل باطل یعنی در خلافت که آن را بیگانه دهی و این خطایست از نفس کل بسوی او، و در همه زمان باید حجت که معصوم از خطا باشد چنانکه در باب او بیاید مولانا همهٔ بندگان را توفیق دهاد تا بسخن ایمان آورند و از باطل روی بگردانند و آنچه جدّ و جهد باشد در راه مولانا بکوشند والسلام

باب پنجم در باز نمودن امامت و دَوْرِ ستر و کشف و معنی قیامت قیامات،

بقوت و توفیق مولانا قایم قیامت که خداوند هژده هزار عالم است و گناه بخش بنی آدم است پیدا کردیم در سخنان گذشته و بیان نمودیم که موجودات بخود هست نمی توانند بود و ایشانرا هست کننده و پیدا کننده و پدید آورنده می باید که خود بر لوح کائنات نقش مملوکیت ظاهر است و مملوک را از مالک چاره نیست، و اهل عالم بجز این طائفهٔ محقّه بر دو گروه شده اند، طائفهٔ را معطله گویند و طائفهٔ را مشبّهه گویند

و طائفهٔ معطله آنانند که حق تعالی را از همه چیز تنزیه کنند و گویند او از صورت منزّه است و کسی را راه بذات او نیست و بهیچ گونه اورا در نتوان یافت، و آنجا باز دو گروه شوند، گروهی از صفاتش تنزیه کنند و گروهی صفاتش اثبات کنند و گویند صفات لائق ذات اوست، مثلاً گویند عالم است، گویم مراد از این علم چیست، گویند معنی که لائق ذات اوست و همچنین در همه صفات در قدرت و سمع و بصر و غیره این که در کلام انبیا آمده است، پس این طائفه همه بقول خود اقرار دارند که راه بخدا نبرده اند چه خدای هیچ صورت نداشته باشد و ذاتش نتوان دانست و صفاتش معلوم نباشد پس راه باو و معرفت او چگونه

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[۱] از آیه ۷۶ از سورة الاسرٰی (17)

توان برد و او را چون توان پرستید، و پیغمبران و نیکان همه از بهر آن آمده اند که مردم را بخدا رسانند و او را بشناسند و بپرستند

در فصول مبارک می آید که روزی دیلمی با یکی ازین طائفه در اصفهان بحث می کرد، آن کس می گفت که خدا دست ندارد و چشم ندارد و همچنین همهٔ چیزها را بر می شمرد، و آن مرد دیلمی گفت ای دُم بریده این که تو می گوئی خربزهٔ و یا هندوانهٔ باشد

و آن طائفهٔ دیگر که مُشَبِّهه اند گویند که خدا بصورت مردیست و بر عرش نشسته و پای بر کرسی دراز کرده و ترازوی در دست گرفته روزیِ بندگان را می کشد و می دهد، و هیچ چیز را تأویل نکنند و هر چه در قرآن و حدیث آمده بر صورت آن برند، و چون ستوران بکاه و برگ بایستند و ببر و دانه رسند، روزی از یک دانشمندی گیلانی پرسیدند که این ترازو که می گویند چه می کشد، گفت در یک پهلوی آن برنج و دیگر پهلو گندم و برنج را بمامی پاشد و گندم را بر کوهستان

و گویند قرآن را که بحرف و صورت قدیم است و هر که چنین نداند کافرست، و هم از دانشمندان ایشان پرسیدند که اگر کسی موی خوک در شراب کند و حرف بر جامهٔ تو بنویسید آن حرف قدیم باشد گفت آری، جواب گفتم بمذهب تو نماز درست باشد، گفت نه، گفتم چه قدیم باشد که نماز با آن درست نباشد

و گویند که هیچ کس را راه با آیینِ خدا نباشد و حضرت رسول علیه السلام شب معراج بر بالای آسمان رفت و او را بدید، و جبرئیل از پیش او از بالای آسمان می آمد

و این دو گروه یکدیگر را کافر دانند و هر دو راست می گویند، امّا این طائفهٔ محقّه ثبّتهم الله گویند موجودات را خدائیست که همیشه بوده است و خواهد بود و او را هم صورت و هم

صفت است، وهم بی صورت و بی صفت، وچون محال است که کسی راه بچیزی برد مادامیکه برصورت وصفت او نباشد چه هرچه بهیچ وجهی برصورت وصفت این کس نباشد مجهول مطلق آن کس باشد وراه بردن بمجهول مطلق محال ست، وارادت باری تعالی آن بود که اورا ابردِ او بشناسند وپرستند واز همهٔ موجودات انسان را برگزید وبصورت وصفتِ خاصِ خود گرامی کرد واین صورت خاصِ اوست وهمهٔ انبیا ونیکان اشارت بآن کرده اند چنانکه عزرائیل علیه السلام وقتی که قالب آدم را گِل کرد ندا آمد که صورت آدم را بکش، عزرائیل گفت پاکا پروردگارا نمیدانم که بچه صورت بکشم، ندا از حضرت پروردگار عالم دررسید که ای عزرائیل کاسهٔ آبی درپیش خود بگذار وصورتِ مراد در آن مشاهده کن و بدان صورت صورتِ آدم را بکش چنانچه در قرآن شریف می آید که إِنَّ اللّٰهَ خَلَقَ آدَمَ عَلیٰ صُورَتِهِ الرَّحْمٰن یعنی بدرستی که آفرید خدای تعالیٰ آدم را بصورت وصفتِ خاصِ رحمانیِ خویش، ونمی گوید که خدا ظاهر شد برصورتِ آدم، پس آن صورتِ آدم صورتِ خاصِ او باشد، وهمچنین در عبارتِ تورات هم می آید که خواستیم که پیدا کنیم انسان را برصورت وهیئتِ خود آفریدیم تا مارا بشناسند وبپرستند، و در انجیل می آید که عیسیٰ علیه السلام را پرسیدند که خدا برچه صورت است، می گوید همین صورت که در حدیث آمده که خدا را درعرفات دیدیم برشتری نشسته وقطیفهٔ سرخ برانداخته وزردشت در کتاب اوستا می آرد که اگر خدا را خواهید که به بینید هم در صورت مردی توانید دید خدای را بردِ او باید شناخت۔ مصراع

خدای را به محمد شناس و حیدرِ حال

پس پیغمبران ونیکان اشارت بمردی کرده اند واو را عزّ وعلا محققان روزگار مولانا و

امام وقت و قائم القیامة خوانده اند، و مولانا از نامهای بزرگ اوست چنانچه در قرآن شریف می آید که قوله تعالیٰ: أَنتَ مَوْلَانَا[1] وَهُوَ مَوْلَانَا[2] وَاللَّهُ مَوْلَى الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا[3] و معنی مولانا این است که خداوند عالم آنکه او را عزّ و علا امام زمان میخوانند و معنی امام پیشوا و مقتدا است، و پیشوا آن باشد که پیروی اَمر و فرمانِ او کنند و همهٔ بندگان پیرویِ اَمر و فرمانِ خداوند خود باید کرد، و در قرآن شریف نیز خبر می دهد که قوله تعالیٰ: لَقَدْ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ إِذْ يُبَايِعُونَكَ تَحْتَ الشَّجَرَةِ[4] یعنی گفت خدای تعالیٰ که خوشنودم از آن بندگان که بیعت کردند در تحتِ درخت طوبیٰ با علی علیه السلام، و در قرآن نیز باز خبر می دهد که قوله تعالیٰ: وَكُلَّ شَيْءٍ أَحْصَيْنَاهُ فِي إِمَامٍ مُبِينٍ[5]

او مبین است اگر بجان نگری ای هوائی بآب و خاک مبین
نورِ حق را بدیدهٔ پاک نگر نتوان دیدنش بدان و بدین

وَيَوْمَ نَدْعُو كُلَّ أُنَاسٍ بِإِمَامِهِمْ[6] یعنی فردای قیامت بخواند خدای تعالیٰ هر گروهی را با امام و پیشوای دَورِ او، و در حدیث پیغمبر خبر می دهد که قَالَ النَّبِيُّ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ: لَوْ خَلَتِ الْأَرْضُ مِنْ إِمَامٍ سَاعَةً لَمَادَتْ بِأَهْلِهَا یعنی گفت پیغمبر علیه السلام که اگر خالی شود زمین یک ساعت از امام زمان زمین و اهل زمین هلاک شوند، و حدیثِ دیگر وارد شده است که قال النبیّ علیه السلام: مَنْ مَاتَ وَلَمْ يَعْرِفْ إِمَامَ زَمَانِهِ فَقَدْ مَاتَ مِيتَةً جَاهِلِيَّةً وَالْجَاهِلُ فِي النَّارِ یعنی هر که بمیرد و امامِ زمانِ خود را نشناسد مرگِ او مرگ جاهلان باشد، و جای جاهلان آتشِ دوزخ است

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[1] از آیه ۲۸۶ از سورة البقرة (2) [2] از آیه ۵۱ از سورة التوبه (9) [3] از آیه ۱۲ از سورة محمد (47) [4] آیه ۱۸ از سورة الفتح (48) [5] از آیه ۱۱ از سورة یٰس (36) [6] از آیه ۷۳ از سورة الاسریٰ (17)

اگر امام زمان را بحق نشناسی — روی بدوزخ اگر صد هزار طاعتست

اگر نه آن بودی که نام امام نام شخص و حدیث او بودی عزّ و علا چرا اگر او نباشد عالم نباشد و چرا اگر او را کسی نشناسد مردن جاهلان باشد و مقامش دوزخ باشد و از امام زین العابدین پرسیدند که خدا را بچه وجه می شناسی گفت بمرد وقت او گفتند مرد وقت او کیست گفت گماشتهٔ او یعنی امام زمان حجّت خدای تعالی است که بر خلق فرستاده است که خلق را بر خدای تعالی هیچ حجّت نباشد گفتند معرفت خدای تعالی چیست گفت مَعرِفَةُ اللهِ مَعرِفَةُ إمامِ زَمانِهِ یعنی معرفت خدای تعالی معرفت امام زمان است و در کلام ائمه می آید که مَا جَاءَ فِی اللهِ فَهُوَ فِینَا

و اما آنکه او را عزّ و علا قائم قیامت می خوانند گوئیم که هر چه ظهور و بطون خداست در کون و هر چه در عالم است آن را مبدئی باشد خواه بضرورت و خواه بی ضرورت و نهایتی باشد چه هر چیزی که آن را نهایتی نباشد مبدئی نباشد چونکه مبدأ را نسبت با نهایت مبدأ توان گفت و نهایت را نسبت با مبدأ نهایت توان گفت و از تصاریف احوال عالم ظهور ادیان و ملل است و ادیان و ملل را مبدأ هست پس واجب شد بقول این حدیث که أباً وجدّاً نسلاً مِن بَعدِ نَسلٍ مَن طَلَبَ شَیئاً وَجَدَهُ مِن فَرعٍ بآبائِهِ مَعشَرَ النَّاسِ إنّ الأرضَ لا تَخلُ مِن حُجَّةِ اللهِ تعالی یعنی گفت خدای تعالی از آبا و جد نصّ بر نصّ پشت بر پشت و ذرّیّت بذرّیّت در میان خلق عالم او را حجّت خود کرده ام قوله تعالی ذٰلِكَ لِتُؤمِنوا بِاللهِ وَرَسُولِهِ وَ تِلكَ حُدُودُ اللهِ وَلِلكافِرِينَ عَذابٌ أليمٌ[1] یعنی گفت خدای تعالی که هر که از حدود من که حدود علوی است بگذرد کافر شود و بعذاب الیم گرفتار شود نعوذ بالله ترجمه

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[1] از آیه ۵ از سورة المجادلة (58)

اگر امام زمان را بحق نشناسی　　　روی بدوزخ اگر صد هزار طاعتست

پس واجب شد که هر کاری را نهایتی باشد چه در هر ناطقی دین و ملّتِ گذشته منسوخ شود و دین و ملّتِ نو پیدا شود و چون ثابت شد که ادیان و ملل را بدایتی است واجب شد که آن را نهایتی باشد و نهایتِ ادیان و ملل را قیامت خوانند و نهایتِ چندی را قیامتِ قیامات خوانند و آن کسی که این نهایت باو باشد قائم قیامت باشد و همهٔ امامان گذشته باین مقرّند که نهایتِ هر چیزی کمالِ آن چیز باشد و در فصولِ مبارک می آید که معنیِ قیامت همیشگی است و معنیِ قائم همیشه در همه زمان ها این قائم قیامت باشد چراکه کمالِ ادیان و ملل باو است و هیچ چیزی بی او بقا ندارد و این چیز را که متشابه بود و بهم که در شرائع است ممیّز و مبیّن شود و ما پیشتر روشن کردیم که هر پیغمبری که بیاید شریعتِ نو نهد باید که کسی تعیین کند که مردم را از کونِ تشابه بدر آورد و بکونِ وحدت برساند پس آن کس قائم قیامت باشد و همیشه چنین کسی باشد　شعر

در اثنای شریعت خلق او را در سما جویند　　　ولی نورِ ظهور را او بود اندر زمین پیدا

والّا مردمِ عالم در کونِ تشابه بمانند و امّا قیامتِ قیامات آن باشد که قائم علیه السلام بتیغِ وحدتِ قهّاریِ خود بر همهٔ اهلِ عالم ظهور کند و بنفخهٔ سورِ اوّلین همه را بمیراند و باز بنفخهٔ ثانی همه را بیدِ قدرتِ خود زنده گرداند امّا زندگیِ جاویدانی و بقایِ لایزالی و سرمدی حاصل شود و در فصولِ مبارکِ خداوندِ زمین و آسمان مولانا ابو الحسن علی ذکره السّلام می آید که گفته ایم بشمشیرِ قهّاریِ عزّت و وحدت همهٔ جهانیان را بکشتیم و زمانی گروهی بکشتیم و زمانی وفا کردیم و باز سر شد و مرگ را نیز بکشتیم و همه را باز زنده کردیم و ببقایِ واجدِ باقی و بوجودِ واجبِ لایزالی زمین و آسمانِ شرائع برداشتیم و زمین و آسمانِ حقیقت

بگسترانیدیم چنانکه در قرآن شریف می آید که قوله تعالی یَوْمَ تُبَدَّلُ الْأَرْضُ غَيْرَ الْأَرْضِ وَالسَّمٰوَاتُ[۱] و چون مصطفی علیه السلام بر سر هزارهٔ آخرین آمد و گفت که بعد از من شریعت دیگر نخواهد بود پس باید که قیامت قیامات در زمان شریعت او باشد و اشارت همهٔ انبیا هم چنین است که در زمان آدم علیه السلام مولانا عزّ و علا را ملک شولیم یعنی شیث می خوانند و قوم آدم را جانبه گویند و گویند که ملک شولیم علیه السلام بقیامت باز آید و حکم میان خلقان بکند و اسرار و حکمهای الٰهی که در میان شریعتها پوشیده است آشکارا بکند و حکایت آدم و ابلیس و آن قصه‌ها در پیش او بوده است

و در زمان نوح ملک یزداق می خوانند و قوم او را براهیم گفتندی و ایشان مقرّند که او بقیامت باز آید و حکم کند و اهل بهشت را به بهشت و اهل دوزخ را بدوزخ برند و نوح پیش او شکایت کرد از قومی که دعوتِ حق قبول نمی کردند و او عزّ و علا فرمودند که همه را بظاهر شریعت غرق کنند جملگی غرق شدند الّا آنانکه دست در کشتیِ نوح زدند و نجات یافتند قال النّبیّ علیه السّلام مَثَلُ ذُرِّيَّةٍ كَمِثْلِ سَفِينَةِ نُوحٍ مَنْ رَكِبَ فِيهَا نَجَا وَمَنْ تَخَلَّفَ عَنْهَا غَرِقَ یعنی گفت پیغمبر علیه السلام که من و اهل بیتِ من همچون کشتیِ نوحیم هر که در کشتی نشست از طوفان رست و هر که تخلف کرد غرق و ناپیدا گشتند

و در زمان ابراهیم علیه السلام مولانا ملک السلام می خواندند و امروز این طائفهٔ محقّه در دعایا مولانا ملک السلام می گویند و امّتِ حضرت ابراهیم را گبران خوانند و ایشان هم گویند که ملک السلام باز آید و آن حکایت ابراهیم و دیدنِ ستارگان و ماه و آفتاب عبارت از داعی و باب و حجّت بود و او آرام نگرفت تا مولانا را بدید و چون مولانا را بدید

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[۱] از آیهٔ ۴۹ از سورهٔ ابراهیم (14)

و در رکاب او برفت و عشر با و داد و زردشت حجت مولانا بود و در آخر دور ابراهیم ظهور کرد و در زمان موسی مولانا ذوالقرنین خواندند و آن حکایت نور بر درخت در شب دیدن ظاهر شریعت است و درخت شخصی و مردی و نور وحدانیت و یگانگی مولانا بود و موسی مولانا عز و علا را شسنبه خواندندی

و در زمان حضرت عیسی مولانا معد میخواندندی و در زمان حضرت رسول علیه السلام مولانا علی لذکره السجود بود و آنکه عیسی گفت که من باز آیم و کار قیامت بکنم و خدا را لخلق بنمایم و این اشارت بمولانا علی علیه السلام بود و حضرت رسول علیه السلام فرمودند که علی ابن ابی طالب تنها در روز قیامت علم قیامت بردارد و خود همه اماما‌ن مولانا علی است و این همه امامان در او مندرج اند مصراع

چو شمعی کآن ز شمعی باز گیرد

و آن یکیست بذات احدیت خود و گاه جوان و گاه پیر و گاه طفل بنماید از بهر آنست که عالم و خلق عالم بر جای بمانند و او مظهر کل عجائب است که خود را در سی هزار لباس می نماید و روزی سی هزار بار نظر بر آفرینش عالم می کند تا دنیا بر قرار بماند و اینکه همه انبیا و نیکان وعده با و داده بودند و قیامت همه قیامات آن بود که خداوند هژده هزار عالم مولانا حسن علی ذکره السلام در قلعه الموت بخودی خود ظهور فرمود چنانکه در اثنای خطبهٔ مبارک فرموده اند که

أَلَا قُومُوا فَقَدْ قَامَتِ الْقِيَامَةُ وَلَإِنَّمَا تَوَقَّفَ انْتِظَارًا لِلْعَلَامَةِ هٰذَا قَامَتِ الْقِيَامَةُ مُنْتَهَى الْقِيَامَاتِ الْيَوْمَ لَا يَسْتَدِلُّ بِالدَّلَائِلِ وَالْعَلَامَاتِ الْيَوْمَ لَا يُعْرَفُ بِالْآيَاتِ وَالْمَقَالَاتِ وَالْإِشَارَاتِ وَالْأَبْدَانِ بِالطَّاعَاتِ الْيَوْمَ انْتَهَتِ الْأَفْعَالُ وَالْأَقْوَالُ وَالْأَعْلَامَاتُ و

الإشاراتُ إلى منتهى النهاياتِ، فمن عيّن عينَ الذاتِ بعينهِ فهو عيّنَ جميعَ الآياتِ والعلاماتِ، وأدركهُ بإسماءٍ وصفاتهِ المنكوسِ والمقلوبِ وهو محجوبٌ، ومولانا قائم القيامات لذكره السجود والتسبيح خداوند موجودات آن خداوندی که اوست وجود مطلق واوست همه از روی نفی وجود بیرون از او نیست، هرچه هست از اوست، وبرگشاد در رحمت خویش وهمه را بنور معرفت خود بینا و شنوا وگویا وزندهٔ جاوید گردانید وبجود خویش حمد وشکر او واجب است بر هر دانندهٔ، وتعالی ذلك علوًّا كبيرًا وهو الحامدُ له والعارفُ بذاتهِ، وفرمودند آن عبارتی که اولش این است که ذُكِرتُ فيهِ ما ألتمسهُ سيّدُ النُّبُلِ، وبعد از آن نسخهٔ نامهٔ که اولش این است که نحنُ الحاضرونَ الموجودونَ بخواند، وما بتوفیق مولانا قائم القیامة فصل چندی در باب تاریخ قیامت قیامات که اهل النبأ وپیشوایان تعیین نموده اند وآنکه بشارت همه باو داده اند واشارت باو کرده اند خواهیم نوشت، وذکر خطبهٔ مبارک وترجمهٔ آن وبیان آن بروجهی که این کمترین بندگان دعوت هادیهٔ مهدیهٔ اسماعیلیه را ثبّتها الله فی مشارق الارض ومغاربها معلوم باشد هم در آن فصول آورده شود بانشای مولانا آمدیم به بیان دور ستر وکشف

ودر زمان هر پیغمبری که شریعت نهاده اند امام بذات مقدس خود ظهور فرمودی واشارت آن نبی بسوی او بودی، وبعد از آن دور ستر شدی وستر از برای امتحان بندگان باشد که اگر بندگان صاحب یقین واهل تحقیق وشناخت نباشد دلش از جای برود وسراسیمه احوال شود، واگر صاحب یقین واهل تحقیق باشد شناخت کل حاصل کرده باشد وداند که مولانا قائم قیامت همیشه هست وبود وخواهد بودن، واین که

گاهی ستر و گاهی کشف و گاهی بصورت پدری و گاهی بصورت فرزندی و گاهی طفل و گاهی جوان و گاهی پیر و گاهی در رحمِ مادر دلیل این است، بیت

علی آن بود که اندر شکمِ مادرِ خویش
گفت در گوشِ نبی معنیِ قرآن از بر

و خدای تعالیٰ در قرآن شریف یاد کرده که قوله تعالیٰ هُوَالأَوَّلُ وَالآخِرُ وَ الظَّاهِرُ وَالبَاطِنُ وَهُوَ بِكُلِّ شَيْءٍ عَلِيمٌ[1] آن است، ترجمه

گاه پیر و گاه طفل و گاه برنا می شود
گاه در معراج رفته گاه اندر چاه شد

گر بصد صورت برآید مردِ معنی را چه غم
گاه مستنصر شد و گاهی سلام الله شد

و این همه باضافهٔ علم خلق و خلقی نماید تا این عالم برجای بماند و مردم چون از گونِ خود بیرون نتواند دید نتواند شناخت و راه باو عزّ و علا نبرند و اگر نه چنین بوده که (بیت)

پیش از بنای دهر بچندین هزار سال
بودند مصطفی و علی همنشین هم

و اگر نه در عالم خدا و خدائی این تغیرات نیست، اینها بنظر خلق چنین می نماید و گاه باشد که دَورِ ستر و تقیّه از برای گناه کردنِ بندگانِ مؤمن باشد و گفته اند، شعر

گناه روی زمین میکنی نمی دانی
که ماه بر فلک از شومیِ تو میگیرد

و این که مولانا بنظرِ قهر بدیشان نگاه کنند و دَورِ کشف از جهت مرحمت باشد که به بندگانِ خود بنظرِ لطف بدیشان نگاه کند

و دَورِ ظهور و کشف مثلِ روز است و محق چون آفتاب و دَورِ ستر چون شب و حجت چون ماه و داعیان چون ستارگان، و در شب که آفتاب مستور شود روشنائی از ماه و ستارگان باشد و در دَورِ ستر که اهل حق را بذات مقدس محق راه نباشد راهِ دین از فرمان برداری و شناختِ مردِ وقتِ او باشد که حجت اعظم و بابِ اقدس او ست

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[1] آیه ۳ از سورة الحدید (57)

چنانچه فرموده اند (بیت)

از دلِ حجّت بحضرت ره بود او ز تأیید دلش آگه بُود

و در دَورِ امامانِ مستور که ستر اوّل باشد بعد از پیغمبر علیه السّلام و وصیِ او عبد الله قدّاح حجّت بود و در دَورِ سترِ دویم با باستیدنا و نورِ مستقر مولانا هادی که با باستیدنا دانستهٔ اسرار بود، و در روزی که آفتاب ظاهر باشد ماه و ستارگان نور نه دهند چنانکه بروزگار مولانا علی سلمان دعوت اظهار نمیکرد، و در هر زمانِ ظهورِ محق را باید شناخت و سترِ او متصرّفانِ دعوتِ او در حقیقت و اضافت بدانست، و در دَورِ سترِ دعوتِ بزرگوارش ظاهر از حجّت و داعیان باشد یَکُونَ لِلنَّاسِ عَلَیکُم حُجَّةٌ بَعدَ الرَّسُولِ[1]، و شاید که امام در زمانِ ظهورِ حجّت را نیز امر بدعوت فرماید، و امّا نشاید که امام و حجّت هر دو مستور باشند، و در قیامتِ قیامات که کشفِ کلّی باشد حجابِ ظاهر و باطن از پیشِ نظر خلق برداشته شود، و نه حجّت را ظهور باشد و نه غیر او را، و وجود همه مولانا قائم قیامت باشد، ولیکن در کنز الغرائب مشهور است که انبیائی بحق و اولیائی بر حق بحکم خدای تعالیٰ در عالم بوده اند و مؤیّد و مأمورِ امرِ حق تعالیٰ بوده اند و مِن عِندِ الله بوده اند و وجودِ ارسالِ ایشان بر خدای واجب بود، و عالم بی نبوّت و ولایت نمی توانست انتظام گرفت بدلیل آنکه افعال بندگان اگر کردنی و جائز بودی آنها موجبِ فسادِ عالم شدی و لازم آمدی که خون و زنا و همهٔ کبائر بلکه قتلِ همهٔ مردم بر یکدیگر جائز بودی زیرا که این از جملهٔ افعال اند، چون همهٔ افعال جائز بودی اینها نیز جائز بودی، و اگر همه ناکردنی و ممنوع بودی زندگانی میسّر نبودی، و این هر دو وجه محال و ممنوع، پس لازم آید که گویم که بعضی از افعال جائز بودی و بعضی ممنوع، و این که کدام فعل جائز است و کدام ممنوع

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[1] از آیه ۱۴۵ از سورة البقرة (2)

جز فاعلِ حقیقی کسی نداند، پس سبحانه و تعالی را لازم آید بواسطهٔ حکمتِ ایجادِ عالم که کسی را از بندگان برگزیند و بمعرفتِ افعال شناسا گرداند بوحی و الهام، و آنها که معرفتِ احکام و افعال بوحی دریابند پیغمبران باشند و آنها که بالهام دریابند ائمّه و اولیا باشند، و مأمور سازند تا افعالِ نیک و بد از یکدیگر جدا کنند که کدام نیکست و کدام بد تا خلائق را بنیک امر کنند و از بد نهی فرمایند تا عالم بنظام تواند بود و خراب نشود، و این امر و نهی را شرع گویند و آمر و ناهی را صاحب شرع، در هر مدّتی حکمتِ الٰهی اقتضا بر آن کند که کتابِ دیگر فرستد و آن کتاب و شریعتِ پیشین را نسخ کند بر بنده لازم است که اعتقاد بشریعت و کتابِ پیغمبرِ ناسخ کند زیرا که معنی نسخ باطل شدن است، چون شریعتی که قبول کرده باشند باطل باشد از آن بر باید گشت، و باین ناسخ در آمدن اعتقاد کنند که پیغمبر آن است که بدلیلِ قولِ خدای تعالی مَا كَانَ مُحَمَّدٌ أَبَا أَحَدٍ مِنْ رِجَالِكُمْ وَلَكِنْ رَسُولَ اللّٰهِ وَخَاتَمَ النَّبِيِّينَ[۱] یعنی نباشد محمّد علیه السّلام پدر یکی از مردان بلکه پدر جمیع پیغمبران و او خاتم پیغمبران است و صاحب شریعت و طریقت و حقیقت و معرفت بود، اکنون اینها همه در میان فرزندانش بود و هست، و معجزاتِ او همه حق است، چون معراجِ آسمانی و شقّ القمر و غیر ذلک همه حق است و هر که جز این اعتقاد کند و مخالفت بشریعتِ او کند بی امرِ صاحب الزّمان کافر شود و توبهٔ این نپذیرند، ولیکن اگر متابعتِ نفس کند عاصی باشد و کافر بدلیلِ قولِ پیغمبر علیه السّلام مَنْ مَاتَ وَلَمْ يَعْرِفْ إِمَامَ زَمَانِهِ فَقَدْ مَاتَ مِيْتَةً جَاهِلِيَّةً، وَالجَاهِلُ فِي النَّارِ وَإِنْ شَاءَ يَهُودِيًّا وَإِنْ شَاءَ نَصْرَانِيًّا وَإِنْ شَاءَ مَجُوسِيًّا یعنی هر که بمیرد و امام زمان خود را نشناسد مرگش مرگِ جاهلان باشد و جای

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[۱] از آیه ۴۰ از سورة الاحزاب (33)

جاهلان دوزخ است زیراکه چون پیغمبر صاحب الشرع در عالم نباشد در میان اُمّت صورتها واقع شود که اگر امام زمان حلِ آن مشکلات نکند بیم آن باشد که همه پیروان کافر شوند، نعوذ بالله، اسرار پیغمبران را حفظ نماید و مردمان را بآن اسرار در خورِ فهم بخدا خواند و بخدا شناسا گرداند، و این امام بحق بعد از پیغمبر علیه السّلام امیرالمؤمنین علی علیه السلام است و فرزندانش الی یَوم القیامة، هرکه جزاین اعتقاد کند کافر گردد بدلیلِ قول پیغمبر علیه السّلام مَنْ توسّل الی شیخٍ مِنَ الشُّیوخ غیر علی ابنِ ابی طالب وذرّیتِه فهُوَ کافرٌ و مَلعونٌ وَلَوْ کانَ بِطاعَةِ عیسی بنِ مَرْیَمَ یعنی هرکه دست درآویزد به یکی از شیخهای ناحق غیر فرزندان و ذرّیّه من که پیشوای دین اند که اینجا مُراد از امامِ زمان است اگر طاعت نکند کافر و ملعون است اگرچه بطاعت همچو عیسی مریم باشد، وآنچه در نسخ ادیانِ بعضی از پیغمبران گفتیم ولیکن نسخ وضعِ أئمّهٔ سابق تواند بود و بسیار واقع شده، و این چنان بود که بعضی از ائمه و انبیا بر حکمت و صلاحِ زمانِ خودشان بطریق چند خاص عمل کرده باشند و بعد از آن یکی از ایشان هم بنا بر حکمت و صلاح خود خلافِ آن وضعِ سابق عمل کند و هر یکی از آن دو وضعِ مخالف را در زمانهٔ خود باید دانست بمقتضای فرمانی که در هر زمان نازل شد عمل باید نمود تا مؤمن و متابع باشی چنانکه در کلام مجید یاد کرده که قوله تعالیٰ، یا أیّها الّذین آمنوا أطیعُوا اللّهَ وأطیعُوا الرّسولَ و أُولِی الأمْرِ مِنکم[۱] و از زمرهٔ مخالفان و منافقان که خدای تعالیٰ خبر داده که قوله تعالیٰ بَلْ هُم أضَلُّ سَبیلًا[۲] نباشی نعوذ بالله منها

مسئلهٔ پنجم معاد است، و این اعتقاد است به آنکه این نفوسِ جزویه را رجوع بمبدأ خواهد بود بیکی از سه وجه، باین نفوس نیکوکاران و فرمان برداران بوده اند و در دنیا ترازوی

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[۱] آیه ۶۲ از سورة النساء (4) [۲] از آیه ۴۶ از سورة الفرقان (25)

عمل نیک ایشان گران تر از ترازوی عمل بد است تا طاغی یا ملحد و بد اعتقاد نباشند و
در دنیا امر آخرت را سهل نگرفته اند بلکه هرگز از آخرت بدنیا متوجه نگشته اند تا آنکه همگی اوقات
صرف طاعات الٰهی نموده اند و امر دنیا و آخرت را ملتفت نشده اند بلکه فرمان برداری که
از برای وصول دین که سدرة المنتهی عارفان است کرده اند٭ و این گروه را اصحاب الیمین
و اصحاب المیمنه گفته اند و ایشان صلحا و اتقیا و پرهیزگاران و اہل شناخت امام روزگار خویشند
بحکم مَنْ یَشْفَعْ شَفَاعَةً حَسَنَةً یَكُنْ لَهُ نَصِیبٌ مِنْهَا [1] ایشان را بهشت
عدن بدان صفت که شنیده اید جزای عمل دهند٭ اما گروه دویم را اصحاب الشمال و اصحاب
المشئمه گفته اند٭ ایشان اہل دنیا و لذات و طالبان فانی و شریران ظالمان نفس
خودند٭ و کسانیکه فرمان ائمه و انبیا نبرده اند در حدیث رسول علیه السلام فرموده است
که الدّنیا جیفةٌ وطالبها کلابٌ ایشان را دوزخ است بدانکه در قرآن آمده
جزای عمل خواهد بود٭ اما گروه سیم نوّاب بارگاه احدیت و حجباء دیوان صمدیت و محرومان حرم
وصلت اند و پروردگار عالم ایشان را مقرّبان نام نهاده ست بحکم این آیت که قوله
تعالیٰ٭ والسّابقون السّابقون اولٰئک المقرّبون [2] اینها از بهشت و دوزخ
بی نیاز اند و از مطالعۂ جمال جبروت بمشاهدۂ عالم ملکوت نپردازند٭ اینها انبیا و اولیا باشند
و ایشان راست (بیت)

جنت نروم تا رخ زیبات نبینم — فردوس چه کار آید اگر دوست نباشد

امّا فرقۂ دویم که گناه کار اند هر کدام که بصورت محمّد و عترتش که ذرّیّةً بَعْضُهَا مِن
بَعْضٍ واللهُ سَمِیعٌ عَلِیمٌ [3] گرویده اند و از آیت قوله تعالیٰ٭ یا أیّها الّذین
آمنوا أطیعُوا الله وَأطِیعُوا الرّسُولَ وأُولِی الأمْرِ مِنكُم [4] و اقرار باللسان

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[1] از آیه ۸۷ از سورة النسآء (4) [2] آیات ۱۰ و ۱۱ از سورة الواقعه (56) [3] از آیه ۳۰ از سورة آل عمران (3)
[4] آیه ۶۲ از سورة النسآء (4)

وتصدیق بالقلب کرده باشند امّا معاصی از ایشان در وجود آمده باشد امّا بعد از آنکه بقدر گناه خود عقوبت بکشند حضرت خواجۀ کائنات صلّی الله علیه وآله وسلّم واولادش که مقربان اند ایشان را شفاعت کنند واو ببرکت شفاعت ایشان نجات خواهد یافت ومخلد در عذاب نخواهد ماند وآنها که بصدق نگرویده اند وفرمان ائمۀ دین نبرده باشند بلکه امام وقت خود را نشناخته باشند منکر اند ومخلّد در دوزخ جاوید خواهند ماند واگر معرفت امام زمان ومعرفت نفس حاصل نکند جاهل بمیرد بمعرضۀ تعریض که خدای تعالی در کلام مجید یاد کرده است که قوله تعالیٰ ثُمَّ رَدَدْنَاهُ أَسْفَلَ السَّافِلِينَ[1] گشت وپیش از آنکه انسان را در بهترین صورت بیافریدیم چون او خود را نشناخت ردّ کردیم او را با سفل سافلین نعوذ بالله من ذٰلك ترجمه

اگر امام زمان را بحق نشناسی — روی بدوزخ اگر صد هزار طاعات است

وآنچه در آن تجلّی اوّل اجمالاً حاصل شده بود اینجا تفصیلاً ظاهر شد بقول این آیت کریمه که قوله تعالیٰ خَلَقَ آدَمَ عَلَىٰ صُورَتِهِ الرَّحْمٰن یعنی که آفریدیم آدم را بصورت خاص رحمانی خود

چو آدم را فرستادیم بیرون — جمال خویش در صحرا نهادیم

وبمقتضی کُنْتُ کَنْزًا مَخْفِیًّا فَأَحْبَبْتُ أَنْ أُعْرَفَ فَخَلَقْتُ الْخَلْقَ لِکَیْ أُعْرَفَ یعنی خدای تعالی می فرماید که پنهان بودم خواستم که آشکارا گردم پس بیافریدم عقل کل ونفس کل را وبطفیل این دو نور بیافریدم عالم وخلق عالم را تا آشکارا گشتم ومطلوب حاصل شد آخر کار همه انسان کامل بود که صفات جمال وجلالی را مظهر آمد وبار امانت را قبول کرد وعارف صادق در این باب گوید

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[1] از آیه ۵ از سورة التین (95)

آسمان بارِ امانت نتوانست کشید
قرعهٔ فال بنامِ منِ دیوانه زدند

وانسان را حقیقتِ جامعه باعتبارِ آنکه هرچه در عالمِ کبیر تفصیلاً موجود است اجمالاً در انسان نیز موجود است، و معنی اش آن است که هرچه در آفاق است در انفس هست واین انسان که بشناخت امامِ وقت واصل شد از مقرّبانِ بارگاهِ سبحانی شد زهی سعادتِ دوجهانی که معرفتِ نفسِ خود که آن مبدأ و معاد است حاصل کرد بمقتضی حدیث صحیح که قال النبی علیه السّلام "مَنْ عَرَفَ نَفْسَهُ فَقَدْ عَرَفَ رَبَّهُ" یعنی هرکه شناخت نفسِ خود را بیقین که شناخته باشد خدای خود را، ترجمه

شناسای وجودِ خویشتن شو
پس آنگه سرفرازِ انجمن شو

ومعرفتِ امامِ وقت حاصل کرد و قامت بر استقامتش براندازهٔ خلقت و رفعتِ طراز که قوله تعالیٰ "لَقَدْ خَلَقْنَا الإِنسَانَ فِى أَحْسَنِ تَقْوِيمٍ"[1] گردید واز اصحابُ الیمین گشت قوله تعالیٰ "لَهُمْ جَنَّاتُ عَدْنٍ تَجْرِي مِن تَحْتِهَا الأَنْهَارُ خَالِدِينَ فِيهَا أَبَدًا"[2] یعنی ایشان راست بهشت عدن که در آنجا و در آن خانها و در آن بهشت مخلد بمانند الحمدُ لِلّٰه والمنّة که این علمِ حقیقت در این روزگار بمرتبهٔ رسیده که هرکه می شنود مجالِ سخنِ انکار ندارد، و اکثرِ منکران در مقامِ اقرار اند امید که بنهایت رسند این گروه از صف نشینانِ دیوانِ تقرب و سرهنگانِ بارگاهِ محرمیت اند بفضل و کرمِ مولانا

وبعد از پیغمبر علیه السّلام وصیِ او حلِ مشکلاتِ اُمّت نماید تا خلایق گمراه و طاغی و یاغی نشوند، وبعد از خود امام دیگر را بجای خود نصب کند و بآن اسرار عارف سازد، وایشان نیز شش تن بوده اند، هر ناطقی را وصی بود، بدانکه وصیِ آدم علیه السّلام شیث بود، و وصیِ نوح مولانا سام بود، و وصیِ ابراهیم مولانا اسماعیل بود و وصیِ موسیٰ مولانا هارون بود و

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[1] از آیه ۴ از سورة التّین (۹۵) [2] آیه ۷ از سورة البیّنة (۹۸)

وصیِ عیسی مولانا شمعون الصّفی بود و وصیِ حضرت محمّد مصطفیٰ صلّی الله علیه و آله وسلّم حضرت امیرالمؤمنین علی ابن ابی طالب افضل الصّلوات واکمل التحیات بود، وحضرت امیرالمؤمنین علی علیه الصّلوة والسّلام افضل همهٔ انبیا و اولیا واتقیا واصفیاست و در شانِ او آیات قرآن واحادیثِ نبوی بسیار واضح نازل گشته درشانِ او تبارک ویٰسین و هَل أَتیٰ است، وآیت اَللّٰهُ نورُالسمٰوٰاتِ والأَرْضِ[1] درشانِ اوست وسورهٔ إِنَّا أَنْزَلنا الخ نیز درشانِ اوست که خدای تعالیٰ گفته است که ماه شریف رمضان بهتراست ازهزار ماه، وامام زمان افضل تراست ازهزار پیغمبر مرسل یعنی نور نبوّت از نورِ ولایت حاصل شده، چه شرف باین برابری کند که حضرت پیغمبر دربارهٔ او فرموده که لَحْمُكَ لَحْمِي وَدَمُكَ دَمِي وَجِسْمُكَ جِسْمِي وَرُوحُكَ رُوحِي، ویکی ازاحادیث که درشانِ آن حضرت نازل شده این است که أَنَا مَدِينَةُ العِلمِ وَعَلِيٌّ بابُها، ترجمه

شنیده ام بتکلم نمود همچون دُر | بدین حدیث لب لعل روح پرورِ او
که من مدینهٔ علمم علی درست مرا | عجب خجسته حدیثست من سگ درِ او

نظم

دریا مداد گردد و اشجار ها قلم | هفت آسمان چو کاغذ و جبرئیل مدح گر
گر جمله جنّ وانس نویسند مدح شاه | کز صد هزار نکته نیاید یکی بدر

وباید دانست که امام رئیسِ دین بود وامر کند بآنچه صلاح دین و دنیای مردمان در آن بود، واوازاسرارغیبی ومعنیِ احکام لاریبی باشد بدین حدیث که قال النّبیّ علیه السّلام لَوْخَلَتِ الأَرْضُ مِن إمامٍ ساعةً لَمادَتْ بِأَهْلِها که مدارآسمان وزمین اوست، وعالم بی او بقا ندارد

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[1] آیه ۳۵ ازسورة النور (24)

آمدیم به بیان امامِ مُستَودَع و امامِ مُستقر، گویم فرق میان این دو مرتبه نیست الا در وصایت چون امام حسن و امام حسین و امام مستودع هم یکی از فرزندان امام باشد از آن همه بزرگتر و بر اسرار امامت واقف، و در زمانِ خود افضلِ همهٔ خلق بُوَد و لیکن نسلِ امامت در او نباشد و امامان از نسلِ او نباشند و از او سادات باماند زیرا که امام مستقر آن بود که بهمهٔ صفاتِ امامت آراسته باشد و نسلِ امامت در او بود، و امام بعد از حضرت امیرالمؤمنین علی کرم الله وجهه امام حسن بود علیه السّلام، و او امام مستودع بود و بعد از او امام حسین بود علیه السّلام و او امام مستقر بود، و بعد از او امام زین العابدین بود و بعد از او امام محمد باقر بود و بعد از او امام جعفر صادق بود، و بعد از او امام موسی کاظم بود چنانچه امام حسن علیه السّلام و نصّ در او نبود، و بعد از او امام اسمٰعیل بود و از ارباب اطلاق بود و نظرش بر منظورِ مطلق گشوده بود و با اهل شرع اتّفاق نمی نمودند، و این را در حقیقت قصوری نباشد چنانچه در قرآن شریف آمده که قوله تعالیٰ ' وَمَا مِن دَابَّةٍ فِی الأَرضِ إِلَّا عَلَى اللهِ رِزقُهَا وَيَعلَمُ مُستَقَرَّهَا وَمُستَودَعَهَا كُلٌّ فِی كِتَابٍ مُّبِينٍ[1] بنابر آن اند که امام اسمٰعیل چون نمیدانست که استقرار امامت در فرزندان او بود رضا بنصّ امامتِ امام موسی کاظم داد، و ایشان مخالف یکدیگر نبودند، و این پوشیده نیست که در کتاب روضة التسلیم دلیل آنکه در محلّی که امام موسی کاظم در حبل خلفای بغداد بود مخالفان با وی گفتند که امام اسماعیل در حقّ تو قصد می کند، و او گفت چرا دروغ می گوئید و او نصّ کردهٔ خدا و رسول است بدین دلیل که قوله تعالیٰ ' ذُرِّيَّةً بَعضُهَا مِن بَعضٍ وَاللهُ سَمِيعٌ عَلِيمٌ[2] و در حقّ اسماعیل دعا کرد و گفت خداوندا فرزندانِ مرا از فرزندانِ امام اسماعیل محروم گردان، و این در کتاب عمدة الطالب که از کتب معتبرهٔ اولاد پیغمبر است واضح و هویداست، و

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[1] آیه ۸ از سورهٔ هود (11) [2] از آیه ۳۰ از سورهٔ آل عمران (3)

این صورت بعینه آن صورت اسحاق پیغمبر و اسماعیل پیغمبر است که چندین از فرزندان اسحاق نابود کردند اما آخر نبوت و امامت بفرزندان اسماعیل قرار گرفت، اکنون احوالی جاهلی باید گذاشت و اینها را همه یکی باید دانست و مخالف یکدیگر نیستند

بدانکه طاعت و اقتدا بامام زمان واجب است بهرچه فرماید سابق بوده باشی، و این امامت پیش از زمان عالم و آدم و مکان بوده تا از ابراهیم صلوات الله علیه لازم و واجب شد و در نسل او اقرار گرفت بدلیل قول خدای تعالی إِنَّ اللهَ اصْطَفَىٰ آدَمَ وَنُوحًا وَآلَ إِبْرَاهِيمَ وَآلَ عِمْرَانَ عَلَى الْعَالَمِينَ[۱] یعنی بدرستی که گزیدم آدم و نوح را و آل عمران را که مراد از آل عمران حضرت ابوطالب است که بر هر دوره ذُرِّيَّةً بَعْضُهَا مِن بَعْضٍ تا یوم القیامة، و درین عترت است، و این امام گاهی ظاهر می شود در امامت از نص صریح و یا خفی، پس لازم است که امام یکی از فرزندانش را ولی عهد خود سازد و یا آنکه صریح بگوید که امام بعد از من فلان خواهد بود، و نص خفی آن بود که چیزی که خصوصیت بامامت داشته باشد بیکی از فرزندانش اشارت کند، و یا آنکه باساس بگوید و یا آنکه بیکی از حجتان و داعیان که محل اعتبار ایشان صریح است بگوید، و این امامان از مقربان و محرمان و خاصان خدای تعالی اند و شیعیان و پیروان از اصحاب الیمین اند و این حسنه است بحکم این حدیث نبوی مَنْ سَنَّ سُنَّةً حَسَنَةً فَلَهُ أَجْرُهَا وَأَجْرٌ عَظِيمٌ یعنی هرکه بیاموزد مردمان را یک سنت حسنه پس هرآینه من مراد را بیاموزم دو برابر آن تا بآخر آن کسانی که عمل بآن اجر حسنه کرده باشند

پس هر یکی حجت و داعی و مأذون را لازم است که در دعوت مبالغه داشته باشند هریک بقدر خود بمرتبه که گفته اند که اگر موری در سوراخی باشد و او استعداد دعوت باشد

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[۱] از آیه ۳۰ از سورة آل عمران (3)

داعی را باید بر در آن سوراخ انتظاری بکشد سالها تا آن مور بیرون آید و او را دعوت کند
شاید که از آن مور قوت بدین رسد، در صواب آن قوت شریک او باشد، و آنها نیز از
اصحاب الیمین اند و هر یک ازین ارباب مراتب خواه حجت باشد و خواه داعی و خواه
مأذون و خواه معلّم و خواه مستجیب واجب و لازم است که خدا ترس و پاک دامن و
پاک چشم و پرهیزگار و فرمان بردار و صادق القول و کریم الاخلاص باشند و از روی
صدق بدعوت مولانا گرویده باشند و کمر فرمان برداری بر میان جان بسته بحکم این آیه
که قوله تعالیٰ أَطِيعُوا اللهَ وَأَطِيعُوا الرَّسُولَ وَأُولِي الْأَمْرِ مِنكُمْ[1] و تقویتِ
دین بر خود لازم شناخته که از بعضِ ارباب مراتب از دعوت ثواب بیشتر داشته باشند
و دین بدعوت درست شود و هر چند بیشتر اجر آن بیشتر باشد، و در نصایح گوید ترجمه

ای مؤمنان با مرو فرمان او شوید محمود را امید بشارت از آن رسید

و مؤمن باید که متقی و پرهیزگار باشد قوله تعالیٰ إِنَّ أَكْرَمَكُمْ عِندَ اللهِ أَتْقَاكُمْ[2]
یعنی بدرستی که گرامی ترین شما پرهیزگار ترین شما است، و متابعت بر طاعت واجب الوجود
لازم دانید، خدا را در همه حال خواه در رفتن و خواه در گفتن و خواه در خفتن حاضر و ناظر دانید،
و در همه حال چنان بترسید که چون حق سبحانه و تعالیٰ شما را در همه حال می بیند شرمنده نشوید
و صدقه را دست آویز خود سازید که صدقه ردّ بلا گفته اند، و زکوٰة مال بیرون کنید که گفته
اند که قال النبیّ علیه السّلام برکة المال فی اداء الزّکوٰة یعنی برکت
مال در ادای زکوٰة است و خمس پیغمبر و اولادش از مال خود بیرون کنید و هر دیناری
که در حق الله صرف کنید صد در دنیا و هزار در دار آخرت برکتی آورد، و در حدیث آمده
که وَمَن جَاءَ بِالْحَسَنَةِ فَلَهُ عَشْرُ أَمْثَالِهَا، و این را قرض حسنه گفته اند که

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[1] آیه ۶۲ از سورة النساء (4) [2] از آیه ۱۳ از سورة الحجرات (49)

قوله تعالیٰ: فَأَقِيمُوا الصَّلٰوةَ وَآتُوا الزَّكٰوةَ وَأَقْرِضُوا اللّٰهَ قَرْضًا حَسَنًا[1]

چنانچه گفته شد صد در دنیا هزار در آخرت بُوَد که قرضِ حسنه است و دست گیری هم دینان و برادرانِ دین خود را فرضِ عین دانید و امداد دریغ مدارید که ثواب بسیار است، وصفای باطنِ مؤمنین در کم خوردن و کم گفتن و کم خفتن است، و بجالِ دنیوی بریکدیگر تفاخر مکنید و یکدیگر را با فلاس طعن مزنید که این شیوهٔ منافقان و جاهلان است، و از خدا دین طلب نمائید و سلامتیِ دین و خداشناسی طلبید

و مراد از مؤمنی آنست که دیگری از او در مؤمنی رشک بَرَد که چرا من همچنین نباشم، و بر یکدیگر ستم و شرارت مکنید و بغض را در دل راه مدهید که بُغض و حسد و ظلم مؤمن را از دین برآوَرَد و کینهٔ یکدیگر را از دل برآرید که در سینهٔ مؤمن کینه راست نیاید زیرا که سینهٔ مؤمن خانهٔ خداست قال النبیّ علیه السّلام: المؤمِنُ عَرشُ اللّٰهِ تعالیٰ یعنی هر که کینه در دل داشته باشد خانهٔ خدای را پلید کرده باشد، چون خانه پلید شد صاحب خانه در آن جا نیاید، و او از ایمان بی نصیب باشد، و از تعصّب دُور باشید مگر با دشمنان دین، و با دوستان دینِ پیغمبر و عترتش دروغ مگوئید و بتواضع باشید و خُلق و کرم و احسان پیشهٔ خود سازید که سرِ همهٔ طاعتها این سه خصلت است، و اگر میان شما نزاع شود همه در صلاح آن بکوشید و بی تکلیفی را شعار خود سازید تا آسان زندگانی و زندگی توانید کرد، و از فرمان دارانِ امامِ زمان روی مگردانید و در دین ثابت قدم باشید که این دنیا عاریت است که قوله تعالیٰ: ذٰلِكَ لِتُؤْمِنُوا بِاللّٰهِ وَرَسُولِهِ وَتِلْكَ حُدُودُ اللّٰهِ وَلِلْكَافِرِينَ عَذَابٌ أَلِيمٌ[2] یعنی گفت خدای تعالی که هر که از حدود علوی روی بگرداند کافر گردد و بعذابِ الیم گرفتار شود و از خدا و رسولِ خدا روی

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[1] از آیه ۱۷ از سورة الحدید (57) [2] آیه ۵ از سورة المجادله (58)

گردانیده باشد

ای عزیز من جان پروری کن و از شر و شور خود بری کن تا بتوانی در ایام جوانی نقد جوهر جان را بضایع نگذرانی چنانچه حضرت باباستید نا در این باب می گوید که درود نامعدود نثار ذات محمد را که زمرهٔ انبیاء که قانون و شرع هر یک باشد بجنگ آورد که قوله تعالیٰ أُولَـٰئِكَ عَلَيْهِمْ صَلَوَاتٌ مِّن رَّبِّهِمْ وَرَحْمَةٌ وَأُولَـٰئِكَ هُمُ الْمُهْتَدُونَ[۱] مظهر و مظهر ذات قائل نکتهٔ قال النبی علیه السلام کُنتُ أَنَا وَعَلِيًّا نُورًا بَيْنَ يَدَيِ اللهِ تَعَالىٰ قَبْلَ أَنْ خُلِقَ آدَمُ بِأَرْبَعَةَ عَشَرَ أَلْفَ عَامٍ و در بیان حقیقت امر در تحقیق توحید متکلم بکلمهٔ أَنَا وَعَلِيٌّ مِنْ نُورٍ وَاحِدٍ وَأَنَا عَلِيٌّ وَأَنَا مِنْهُ و در دار دنیا بهر اظهار اقتدار و حشمت خویش و خطبهٔ کمال در مرتبهٔ وجود باکمال خود مترنم بنغمهٔ أَنَا دَارُ الْحِكْمَةِ وَعَلِيٌّ بَابُهَا بهر فتح ابهای دانش و تفتیح درهای معرفت و بینش آمد عَلَيْهِ مِنَ الصَّلَوَاتِ وَمِنَ التَّسْلِيمَاتِ الزَّاكِيَاتِ بر آل او که هر یک بر آسمان هدایت گم شدهٔ وادی ضلالت و جهالت را کوکب هادی بود بتخصیص آن ذاتی که حروف ممکنات را جز نقطهٔ وجود مقدس شمار او در دنیا و در دائرهٔ پرگار موجودات جز مظهر اقدس شمار او نشد آنکه در مقام منقبت و مدحت او زبان هر وضیع و شریف بدین مقال بکمال میرسد

ای صفت جان جهان همه — حاصل ایمان و امان همه
غیر تو کس نیست سخن گو بحق — در دو جهان کس بزبان همه
گرچه فرستاد رسول آن خدا — جز تو نبود روح و روان همه
با همه همراه تو بودی و بود — از تو منور دل و جان همه

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[۱] آیه ۱۵۲ از سورة البقرة (2)

صلوات الله والسلام علیه وعلی آله واولاده المطهرین

امّا بعده، مدّتی میلانِ خاطر و داعیهٔ باطن وظاهر برآن بود که در بیان خطبه که منسوب است بحضرت امیرالمؤمنین وامام المتقین وشعوب الدین قامع الفجرة و قاتل الکفرة علی ابن ابی طالب علیه افضل الصّلوات مسمّی بخطبة البیان است، و بر بعضی اقوال خطبه انابت است وامثال این سخنان که حضرت رسالت پناه روایت می کند، توحید وتحقیق این کلمات قدسی بچه طریق کرده می شود که خلاف ظاهر لازم نیاید ومخالفان را اعراض نرسد جواب گویم که اوّلاً می باید چنانچه در حدیث قدسی می فرماید که قال النبیّ علیه السّلام لایزالُ العبدُ یتقرّبُ الیّ بالنّوافلِ حتّی أحبَبْتُهُ فإذا أحبَبْتُهُ کُنْتُ سَمْعَهُ الّذی یَسْتَمِعُ بِهِ وبَصَرَهُ الّذی یَبصِرُ بِهِ ویَدَهُ الّذی یَبْطِشُ بِها ورِجْلَهُ الّذی یَمْشِی بِها، مضمون این حدیث آن می شود که همیشه بندهٔ من تقرّب بمن می جوید بنوافل که آن زیادتیِ عبادت وطاعت است بر فرائضِ مکتوبه تا بآن غایت که من دوست می گیرم او را، همین که دوست گرفتم او را سمع او می شنوم که بمن می شنود وبصر او می بینم که بمن می بیند وبدست او میگیرم که بمن میگیرد وحاصلِ قصّه آن باشد که انسان عبارت است از اعضا و قویٰ اعضا همچون دست وپا وغیر آن قوی همچون سمع وبصر وغیر آن، پس چون این هردو حدیث که مذکور شد اسم در اسم بکلّی باشد وملکِ وجود را تمام حق متصرّف شده باشد پس درآن حال هرچه گوید وشنود گوینده وشنونده غیر حق نباشد، ودرآن مرتبه ایست که بعضی از اصحابِ ریاضت سخنهای گفته اند که خلافِ عالمِ خلقت وظاهر شریعت همچون أنا الحقّ و سُبحانی که گفت پیغمبر علیه السّلام که من وعلی آن نورم که با موسی سخن گفتم یعنی

الله و محمّد و علی یک جو رند   در دیدهٔ احولان سه تن بنمودند

واین حال روشن است مثلاً هر کجا آهن در آتش برود انگشت از اطراف بروی ریخته و بدم دم او را نفخهٔ شدید متصرّف گردد آهن بمقاربت و مقارنتِ آتش ومجاورتِ او از ظلمت وکثافت و کدورت وضلالت اوّل خلاص یابد و بمرتبهٔ رسد که هر صفت و آتش اعتبار توان کرد از شعاع و احراق که علت غایتی آتش است در او موجود گردد و همچنین بندهٔ که در مرتبهٔ محبوبِ حق آید بمقتضای که مذکور شده است دست و پا و سمع و بصر عبدی نمیشود پس هر چه از او صادر می شود از افعال وصفاتِ حق باشد همچنانکه حضرت رسالت پناه علیه السّلام فرموده که قوله تعالیٰ وَمَا رَمَيْتَ إِذْ رَمَيْتَ وَلَكِنَّ اللهَ رَمَى[1] یعنی نینداختی تو ای محمّد آن هنگامی که تو انداختی ولیکن خدا انداخت اگرچه آن انداختن فعل ظاهر از حضرت رسالت پناه بود امّا بحقیقت از آنِ حق است

پس حضرت رسالت پناه در حق حضرت امیر المؤمنین علی کرّم الله وجهه در این حدیث اثبات کرده که قال النبیّ علیه السّلام یحبّ الله تعالیٰ ورسولُه یعنی دوست می دارد او را خدا و رسول خدا چون حق تعالیٰ او را دوست ومحبوب گفته باشد کرا مجال چون وچرا باشد

و در حدیثِ دیگر آمده که قال النبیّ علیه السّلام وَعَلِیٌّ مَمدوحٌ فی ذاتِ اللهِ تعالیٰ یعنی که علی ستوده شده است در ذات خدای تعالیٰ و باز گفت که قال علیه السّلام أنا کلامُ اللهِ ناطِقٌ مُتَکَلِّم یعنی گفت پیغمبر علیه السّلام که علی کلام سخن گویندهٔ حق است زیراکه کلام از غایت اتحاد وعینیت که دارد گویا که ستوده بذات حق تعالیٰ شده از وحدانیت و چون پیغمبر علیه السّلام او را کلام حق گفته باشد و حق تعالیٰ جمع ایشان را بکلام خود آفرید و ایجاد کرد چنانکه فرمود که قوله تعالیٰ إِنَّمَا أَمْرُهُ

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[1] از آیه ۱۷ از سورة الانفال (8)

إذا أرادَ شيئاً أَنْ يقولَ لَهُ كُنْ فيكونُ[1]. قولنا ایجاد شَیْءٍ إذا یُجدُ شیءٌ متعلّق یعنی می شود آنچه خدای تعالی بخواهد و بظاهر می آید؛ و دیگر فرموده یُحِقُّ الحَقَّ بکلماتِهِ[2] یعنی می گرداند حق تعالی حق را بکلمات خود؛ و باطل می گرداند باطل را بکلمهٔ خود؛ چون این معنی بثبوت رسید که همهٔ اشیا در حکم کلام صامت حق است و در تحت تصرّف اوست بحکم این آیت که قوله تعالی: وَالشَّمسَ وَالقَمَرَ وَالنُّجومَ مُسَخَّراتٍ بأَمرِهِ[3] یعنی آفتاب و ماه و ستارگان مسخّراند بأمر خدا؛ و امام زمان که أنا أَمرُ اللهِ والرّوحُ؛ قال الله تعالی: یَسْئَلونَكَ عَنِ الرّوحِ قُلِ الرّوحُ مِن أَمرِ رَبّی[4] یعنی ای محمّد ترا چون بپرسند از حقیقتِ روح بگو روح از امرِ پروردگارِ من است و امر خداست که کلمهٔ کُن بامر او پیدا شده است؛ پس هر نفسی که خود را بحسب شهود و تجلّی و تحقیق کلام ناطق دیده باشد او را رسد گفتن که أنا أوَّلُ وَالآخِرُ وَالظّاهِرُ وَالباطِنُ وَأنا بِکُلِّ شَیْءٍ عَلیمٌ[5].

پس چون امیر را خدای تعالی گفت که این کلمهٔ کُن است، گفتم که هر چه صادر می شود پس راست باشد این نکته که امیر گفته است که أنا مُصَوِّرٌ فی الأَرحامِ یعنی منم نقش کننده در رحمها زیرا که هر نقشی که بر تختهٔ وجود و بر صفحهٔ هر موجودی به وجود می آید از این کلمه بیرون نیست

پس بدین موجب لازم می آید که گوید منم کلام خدا که اگر بالفرض از اشیا بدر رود اشیا را وجود نماند؛ از آن معنی فرموده اند پیغمبر علیه السّلام که قال عَلِیٌّ دَوائُكَ فیكَ وَلا تَشْعُرُ وَدائُكَ مِنكَ وَلا تُبصِرُ[6] و دیگر فرموده اند وَقالَ عَلَیهِ السّلامُ: أَتَزعَمُ أَنَّكَ جُرمٌ صَغیرٌ وَفیكَ انطَوَی العالَمُ الأکبَرُ[7] یعنی گفت پیغمبر علیه السّلام که علی در من پیچیده است و منطوی شده است عالم اکبر فأنتَ الکِتابُ المُبینُ الَّذی بأَحرُفِهِ یَظهَرُ المُظهَرُ[8] یعنی گفت پیغمبر که تو کتاب مبینی که بحرفهای او

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[1] آیه ۸۲ از سورهٔ یس (36) [2] آیه ۷ از سورهٔ الانفال (8) [3] آیه ۵۴ از سورهٔ الاعراف (7) [4] آیه ۸۵ از سورهٔ الاسری (17) [5] آیه ۳ از سورهٔ الحدید (57) [6] از دیوان حضرت علی ابن ابی طالب [7] از همان دیوان [8] باز از همان دیوان

نظم ظاهر شده و بر همین معنی اولیاء الله فرموده اند که أنا القرآن و السبع المثانی و روح الروح أرواح الأدانی یعنی امیر المؤمنین امام المتقین در این باب چنین فرموده که منم قرآن و السبع المثانی و روح الروح و حضرت رسالت پناه فرموده اند که یا علی کُنتَ مَعَ الأنبیاءِ سِرًّا وَمَعِی جَهرًا یعنی ای علی با همهٔ انبیاء در سر بودی و با من آشکار شدی قال النبی علیه السلام فأنتَ کتابُ اللهِ تعالیٰ و تو سر خدائی که سر ترا کس نداند بجز خدای تعالیٰ و سر خدا کلام خداست که آن تمامی در شأن من و تو فرود آمده است قالَ النَّبیّ عَلَیهِ السّلامُ وَجَمیعُ سِرِّ اللهِ تعالی إلی آخره یعنی جمیع اسرار خدا در کتابهای آسمانی ست و آن سرهائی که در کتاب آسمانی ست در توریت و انجیل و زبور در قرآن باشد و هر چه در قرآن ست در سورهٔ فاتحة الکتاب است و آنچه در فاتحه است در بسم الله است و آنچه در بسم الله است در بای بسم الله است و آنچه در بای بسم الله است در نقطهٔ تحت باست پس معلوم شد که علیست آن نقطه و اسرار خدا و اسرار کتابهای آسمانی و جمیع انبیا و کتابهای آسمانی همراه بوده است پس همهٔ سر کتابهای آسمانی همراه او باشد چون این کتابهای آسمانی بحضرت رسالت پناه علیه السلام ختم شد از آن رو سر او بحضرت امیر ختم شد و هر که بتنزیل آن کتابها ماند گبر و ترسا و یهود و ارمنی و جهود و هندو و منافق مردود و مرتد شدند و از زمرهٔ المنافقین والمنافقات و از زمرهٔ أَضَلُّ سَبِیلًا گشتند و هر که بتأویل رسید و شناخت حاصل کرد ناجی و رستگار شد

شعر

گر زانکه نبی گزو ولی بود — همراه نهان او علی بود
با جملهٔ انبیاء بسر بود — این نطق خدا که چهره بنمود

چون ذات علیست اصل ترکیب ... زو یافت سخن تمام ترتیب

ودیگر آنکه حق تعالی فرموده است در قصهٔ موسی که چون موسی نزدیک آتش رفت آتش گفت که إِنِّی أَنَا اللّٰهُ قال اللّٰه تعالی فَلَمَّا أَتَاهَا نُودِيَ يَا مُوسَىٰ إِنِّي أَنَا رَبُّكَ فَاخْلَعْ نَعْلَيْكَ[1] یعنی ای موسیٰ نزدیک آمدی که منم پروردگار تو و وقتیکه آتش بزد وکوه طور بسوخت وَأَنِّي أَنَا اللّٰهُ رَبُّ الْعَالَمِينَ ازاو برآمد، پس حقیقت و مظهری که وجود او نور حق باشد بطریق اولی بموجب آیتهائی که در قرآن مذکوراست برآید با وجود آنکه حضرت رسالت پناه فرموده اند که قال النّبی علیه السّلام كُنْتُ أَنَا وَعَلِيٌّ نُورًا بَيْنَ يَدَيِ اللّٰهِ تعالی قَبْلَ أَنْ يَخْلُقَ آدَمَ بِأَرْبَعَةِ عَشَرَ أَلْفَ عَامٍ، فَلَمَّا خَلَقَ اللّٰهُ آدَمَ نَقَلَ ذٰلِكَ النُّورَ إِلَى أَصْلِهِ فَلَمْ يَزَلْ يَنْقُلُهُ عَنْ صُلْبٍ إِلَى صُلْبٍ حَتَّى قَرَّ فِي صُلْبِ عَبْدِ الْمُطَّلِبِ فَقَسَمَهُ قِسْمَيْنِ وَقَسَمَنِي فِي صُلْبِ عَبْدِ اللّٰهِ وَقَسَمَ عَلِيًّا فِي صُلْبِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ وَعَلِيٌّ مِنِّي وَأَنَا مِنْهُ مضمون این حدیث آنست که گفت رسول علیه السّلام که من وعلی از یک نوریم میان هردو دست خدای تعالی پیش از آنکه آدم را آفرید و پیش از بنای دهر بچندین هزار سال نقل میکرد آن نور بصلب آدم علیه السّلام آمد و همیشه آن نور نقل میکرد از صلبی بصلب تا قرار داد حق تعالی او را در صلب عبد المطّلب، پس او را منقسم گردانید بدو قسم، قسم من به پشت عبد اللّٰه رفت وقسم ثانی بر پشت ابو طالب پس علی از منست ومن از علی، و در حدیث دیگر آمده است که قال النّبی علیه السّلام أَنَا وَعَلِيٌّ مِنْ نُورٍ وَاحِدٍ، و در قرآن شریف آمده است اَللّٰهُ نُورُ السَّمٰوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ مَثَلُ نُورِهِ كَمِشْكَاةٍ فِيهَا مِصْبَاحٌ[2] پس چون حق تعالی نور آسمان

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[1] آیات ۱۱ و ۱۲ از سورهٔ طٰهٰ (20) [2] آیه ۳۵ از سورهٔ النّور (24)

وزمین باشد وجمیع انوار فروع نور محمدیست، وعلی عین آنست زیراکه حضرت رسالت پناه عین نور حق است وعلی عین آن نور باشد چنانچه گفته اند (بیت)

علی صبح نبوت را بود دم محمد خاتم و او نقش خاتم

چنانچه حضرت رسالت پناه فرموده اند که أنا نور الذی اقتبس منهُ موسی فهدی یعنی که علیست آن نوری که اقتباس کرد از آن نور موسیٰ و بهدایت رسید پس آن آتش که أنا ربّک گفت همین نور بود بقول حضرت رسول علیه السلام که ربّ جمیع أشیاء کلمهٔ کن است وعین آن کلمه حضرت امیر المؤمنین علیست علیه السلام، اکنون چون حضرت رسول علیه السلام فرموده اند که من وعلی از یک نوریم امّا مرتبهٔ نبوت تعلّق بخلق دارد وآن موقوف بجبرئیل ووحی ست تا از حق تعالی براو منزول نمی شود مأمور نبود بآنکه ظاهر کرده اند بحکم این آیت که قوله تعالیٰ وَمَا يَنطِقُ عَنِ الْهَوَىٰ إِنْ هُوَ إِلَّا وَحْيٌ يُوحَىٰ[1] واین مرتبه محتاج می باشد بجبرئیل که آن ملک است وامری که از حق تعالیٰ می شود میرساند در آن باب مأمور است چنانکه حق تعالیٰ می فرماید که قوله تعالیٰ يَا أَيُّهَا الرَّسُولُ بَلِّغْ مَا أُنزِلَ إِلَيْكَ مِن رَّبِّكَ[2] یعنی ای رسول من برسان آنچه بتو فرستاده ایم از پروردگار، تو بغیر آن مأمور نباشی آن مأمور از آن است که فرمود وانّما عَلَيْكَ الْبَلَاغُ وَعَلَيْنَا الْحِسَابُ[3] یعنی که مرتبهٔ امیر مرتبهٔ ولایت است واورا واسطه نیست بلکه بی حجاب مشاهدهٔ حق می کند، ودیگر آنکه حضرت رسالت پناه فرموده که من جنگ بتنزیل می کنم و علی بتأویل وتأویل مرتبهٔ حق است که قوله تعالیٰ وَمَا يَعْلَمُ تَأْوِيلَهُ إِلَّا اللَّهُ وَالرَّاسِخُونَ[4] یعنی که رسول وعلی یک حقیقت اند وغیریّت درمیان ایشان نیست الا در تعیین وتشخیص، بلکه ایشان هرچه فرموده اند درباب توحید ومشکلات سخن همه از

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[1] آیات ۳ و ۴ از سورة النجم (53) [2] آیه ۷۱ از سورة المائدة (5) [3] آیه ۴۰ از سورة الرعد (13)
[4] آیه ۵ از سورة آل عمران (3)

مرتبۂ ولایت است زیرا که حضرت رسالت پناه را هم مرتبۂ نبوّت و هم مرتبۂ ولایت است، امّا مرتبۂ ولایت خفی و مرتبۂ نبوّت جلی و هویدا، و مرتبۂ ولایت افضل بر مرتبۂ نبوّت است پس ولایت علی بر نبوّت نبی غالب است چنانکه ولایت امیر همان ولایت نبی است که خود آن حضرت فرموده اند که قال النّبی علیه السّلام، لی مَعَ اللّٰهِ وَقْتٌ لایَسَعُنی فیهِ إلّا مَلَکٌ مُقَرَّبٌ وَنَبِیٌّ مُرْسَلٌ یعنی مرا با خدا وقت است که در آن وقت نگنجد مگر ملک مقرّب که جبرئیل باشد یا نبیّ مرسل که وجود او باشد که مرتبۂ نبوّت است که آن از مرتبۂ ولایت حضرت رسالت است

پس آن حضرت هر چه گفته باشند ظاهرًا اشکالی از آن مقام که فناء فی اللّٰه وبقاء باللّٰه است، و دیگر فرمودۂ حضرت رسالت پناه علیه السّلام است که أنا نُقْطَةٌ تَحْتَ الباءِ وأنا الکِتابُ المَسْطُورُ، و دیگر آنکه العِلْمُ نُقْطَةٌ کَثَّرَها الجاهِلُونَ یعنی گفت رسول علیه السّلام که علم یک نقطه نیست که آن را نقطۂ تحت بای بسم اللّٰه گفته اند و جاهلان آن را بسیار کرده اند، و وجود او که نقطه باشد مقرّر است که جمیع حروف در تحت نقطه مندرج است، چون گفته اند که علم نقطه نیست یعنی آن باشد که وجود من محض علم است پس جمیع انبیاء که کتاب باشان آمده و جمیع کتاب آسمانی ازاین حروف خالی نیست، و این حروف ازاین نقطه خالی نبود، پس نقطه در همه ساری و جاری باشد، و حضرت رسالت پناه فرموده که قال النّبیّ علیه السّلام، یا علی کُنْتَ مَعَ الأنْبِیاءِ سِرًّا وَمَعی جَهْرًا یعنی که یا علی سرّ خدا تو ئی و سرّ خدا در مظهر محمّد ظهور یافت (رباعی)

در طور نبوّت عدم از حق شئ شد — هر نقطه که قابل صفت بُد حی شد
ملک و ملکوت ماسوا اللّٰه طی شد — در کشف ولی چو نور دوار می شد

وارض وسما و هرچه دراوست همه قائم بکلام حق است و بیرون ازاو نیست که اگر بسبیل فرض و تقدیر این کلام خدا که این نقطه که رسول فرموده اند که أنا نقطةُ تحتَ الباءِ بظهور آید کی از سموات وارض بدر برود و اشیا موجود بماند پس در همه اشیا از علی کرم الله وجهه بحکم این حدیث ساری و جاری باشد همچنانکه هُوَ مَعَ القُرآنِ والقُرآنُ مَعَهُ زیرا که این حروفِ قرآنی بی وجودِ نقطه ممکن نیست وحق تعالی او را نقطه خوانده است (بیت)

یک نقطه الف گشت و الف گشت حروف — در هر حرفی الف باسمی موصوف

چنانچه در کشف کبیر و جامع کبیر می فرماید قال النبیّ علیه السّلام أنا کلامُ اللهِ ناطِقٌ ترجمه

چون بود علی کلام ناطق — مخصوص بود بذات خالق

بیت

حدیث نور چراغ است و دیدهٔ اعمی — قضیهٔ شرفِ معجزات بر زندیق

قال النّبی علیه السّلام لَیسَ اللهُ بِمُتَنکِرٍ اِنَّهُ لجَمیعِ العالَمِ واحِدٌ ترجمه

عجبی نیست از خدا که کند — جمع اندر یکی همه عالم

هر که داند علی بدین توجیه — بر سر یر سر بنی آدم

قطعه

گر بدانی تو از سرِ تحقیق — شرح این قصهٔ بیان علی

روشنت گردد این سخن بخدا — هست ناطق همه زبان علی

قال النبیّ علیه السّلام خَلَقَ اللهُ مِن نُورِ وَجهِ عَلیٍّ ابنِ أبی طالِب سَبْعینَ الفَ مَلَکٍ یَسْتَغفِرُونَ لَهُ ولِمُحِبّیهِ إلی یَوْمِ القِیامَةِ یعنی خدای

تعالیٰ از نورِ روی علی هفتاد هزار فرشته آفریده است که استغفار می کند برای وی و از برای محبانِ وی تا روز قیامت صَدَقَ رَسُولُ اللّٰه؛ و نیز رسول علیه السلام می فرماید که وقتیکه مرا بمعراج بردند در طرف سموات میگذشتم فرشته دیدم بر سر منبری از نور نشسته و فرشتها گرد بر گرد او آمده، گفتم یا اخی جبرئیل این فرشته کیست؛ جبرئیل گفت نزدیک وی شو و بر وی سلام کن؛ چون نزدیک وی رفتم و سلام کردم دیدم که برادر و عم زادهٔ من است علی ابن ابی طالب گفتم یا اخی جبرئیل پیش از من کی بآسمان چهارم آمده بوده است؛ جبرئیل گفت یا رسول اللّٰه علی مظهر العجائب است و مدار آسمان و زمین اوست؛ آسمان و زمین بی او بقا ندارد؛ ولیکن فرشتگان از درد محبّتِ علی شکایت کردند خدای تعالیٰ فرشتهٔ را از نور علی علیه السّلام آفرید پس جمیع ملائکه در شب جمعه و روز جمعه هفتاد هزار نوبت زیارت وی میکنند و تسبیح و تقدیس خدای تعالی بجای می آرند

و در مناقب از امام محمّد باقر روایت است که رسول علیه السّلام گفت که در معراج حق تعالیٰ با من بزبان علی ابن ابی طالب خطاب کرد؛ گفتم یا رب تو با من سخن گفتی یا علی را امر به سخن فرمودی؛ حق سبحانه و تعالیٰ خطاب کرد که ای محمّد من شیٔ ام نه چون اشیاء و مرا با مردمان قیاس نشاید کرد و اشباه و امثال و نظارهٔ وصف نباید کرد و ترا از نور خود آفریدم و علی را از نور تو، پس بر سرّ دلِ تو مطّلع شدم بسوی دل تو علی را یافتم؛ و از علی ابن ابی طالب دوستتر نیافتم؛ بنابرآن بزبانِ علی با تو سخن گفتم تا دلِ تو مطمئن گردد و از هیبت دلت از جای نرود

قال النبی علیه السّلام دوستیِ علی گناه را می خورد چنانکه آتش هیزم را میخورد؛

قال النبیّ علیه السلام؛ عاهَدَنی رَبّی أن لا یُقبَلَ ایمانُ عَبْدٍ إلّا بِمَحَبَّةِ عَلِيٍّ وَأَهلِ بَیتی؛ یعنی عهد کرده است با من خدای تعالی که قبول نکنم ایمانِ هیچ

بنده را الّا بدوستی تو وعلی واہل بیت تو صَدَقَ رَسولُ اللهِ و رسول علیه السلام گفت که قال النّبی علیه السّلام لَوِ اجتَمَعَتِ النّاسُ عَلیٰ حُبِّ عَلیٍّ ابن ابی طالب لِمَا خَلَقنا النّارَ یعنی اگر خلقان جمع می شدند بدوستی علی ابن ابی طالب پیدا نمی کرد خدای تعالیٰ آتش دوزخ را و دیگر فرمود که قال النبی علیه السّلام مَن أَحَبَّ عَلیّاً و أَوْلادی فَقَد أَحَبَّنی وَمَن أَحَبَّنی فَقَد أَحَبَّ اللهَ یعنی ہر که محبت کند بعلی واولادِ من محبّت کرده باشد با من و ہر که محبّت کند بمن محبت کرده باشد با خدای من و دیگر گفت که قال النّبی علیه السّلام مَن أَبْغَضَ عَلیّاً وَأَوْلادی فَقَد أَبْغَضَنی وَمَن أَبْغَضَنی فَقَد أَبْغَضَ اللهَ یعنی ہر که بغضِ اولادِ مرا بورزد بغض مرا ورزیده باشد و ہر که بغض مرا ورزیده باشد بغض کرده باشد با خدای من صَدَقَ رَسولُ اللهِ مولانا بندگانِ خود را توفیقِ دین داری کرامت کناد بمنّه وکرمه

باب ششم در باز نمودن عالم جسمانی وروحانی ومبدأ ومعاد وبیانِ مراتب از مستجیب تا امام

ما در باب سخنان گذشته پیدا کردیم که ہستیِ مطلق خدای راست و ہر چیزی که ہست از او باشد وباو ہست باشد و ہر چه از ہستیِ خدا بیفتد عدمِ محض شود پس گوییم که جسمانیات که آن مجذوب فلکُ الافلاک است تا بمرکز خاک این ہمه ہستیِ خداست است یعنی ہر کلّی بقوّتی از قوّتهای الٰهی برپاست و بآن موجود است و آسمانها شابه پدرانند وانوار ایشان را مشابه نطفه است و فرزند گوہر است ونبات وحیوان و این قوّتِ الٰهی که پراگنده است در آسمانها که پدرانند وعناصر که مادرند وموالید که فرزنداست این ہمه در انسان جمع می شود و بواسطهٔ آنکه ہمه قوتها جمع کرده است بصورت ظاہری می شود که آن صورت خاص

خداست، وچون عالم عبارت از تفصیل معانی انسان است وانسان عبارت از جمع آن معانی است پس بحکم حقیقت انسان عالم کبیر باشد و اجزای انسان که پراگنده شود هریکی با مرکز خود رَوَد؛ و پراگنده اجزای انسان را عالم موجودات خوانم و عالم روحانی عبارت از عالم حقائق است، وعالم دین که هستی همه چیز بحقیقتی است که او همه چیز را باشد؛ وحقیقت همه اشیا در عالم دین ظاهر است، وعالم روحانی که عالم جان است وعالم جسمانی که عالم تن است بهم تمام است وبیهم هیچ نیستند

ودر فصول مبارک می آید که تن وجان بهم تن است وجان وتن بهم جانست، معقول ومحسوس بهم معقول است، ومحسوس ومعقول بهم محسوس که اگر جان را بچشم اضافه بینی تن باشد واگر تن را بچشم حقیقت بینی جان باشد؛ معقول را اگر بچشم اضافه بینی محسوس باشد؛ ومحسوس را اگر بچشم حقیقت بینی معقول باشد، حقیقت را اگر بچشم اضافه بینی اضافه باشد واضافه را اگر بچشم حقیقت بینی حقیقت باشد؛ ووحدت خدای را اگر بچشم اضافه بینی کثرت خلق را دیده باشی؛ وکثرت خلق را اگر بچشم حقیقت بینی وحدت خدای را دیده باشی

وهم در فصول مبارک می آید که هر که همه حقیقت است اورا از اضافی نصیب نیست وهر که همه اضافیست اورا از حقیقت هیچ نصیب نیست، وهر که از حقیقت اضافیست اورا از هیچ کدام نصیب نیست وهر که بحقیقت حقیقی است وباضافه اضافی هردو کون اوراست؛ پس هر که حقیقت واضافت بجای خویش بیند وبجای خویش نگاه دارد از موهومات ومخیلات برهد

ودر فصل مبارک می آید که بقیامت چون خدای معیّن باشد ومشخّص شریعت خدای

موهوم و مخیل باشد، و ما پیشتر پیدا کردیم که در آخرت همه چیز زنده باشد چنانچه در قرآن شریف می آید که قوله تعالیٰ ﴿وَإِنَّ الدَّارَ الْآخِرَةَ لَهِيَ الْحَيَوَانُ لَوْ كَانُوا يَعْلَمُونَ﴾[۱] یعنی زنده بجز مردی که بحقیقت رسیده باشند نیستند چه مردمی که بحقیقت رسیده باشند چنانچه در قرآن می آید که قوله تعالیٰ ﴿أَمْوَاتٌ غَيْرُ أَحْيَاءٍ﴾[۲] و در آخرت عالم روحانیات است، پس باید که عالم مردمی باشد و همچنین پیغمبر می گوید که در آخرت سنگ و کلوخ سخن گوی باشد و سخن گوی بجز مردم نتوانند بود، و می آید که در آخرت همه چیزها بمعاد رسند و مبدأ مردم این صورت خلقی است، و این عالم جسمی است بحکم این آیهٔ کریمه که قوله تعالیٰ ﴿يَدُ اللَّهِ فَوْقَ أَيْدِيهِمْ فَمَنْ نَكَثَ فَإِنَّمَا يَنْكُثُ عَلَىٰ نَفْسِهِ وَمَنْ أَوْفَىٰ بِمَا عَاهَدَ عَلَيْهِ اللَّهَ فَسَيُؤْتِيهِ أَجْرًا عَظِيمًا﴾[۳] یعنی نیست هیچ دستی بالاتر از دستِ او چنانچه در سرِ او سرّ خدای تعالیٰ و گوشِ او گوشِ خدای تعالیٰ و چشمِ او چشمِ خدای تعالیٰ و دهانِ او دهانِ خدای تعالیٰ و زبانِ او زبانِ خدای تعالیٰ و گفتهٔ او گفتهٔ خدای تعالیٰ و امرِ او امرِ خدای تعالیٰ و نهیِ او نهیِ خدای تعالیٰ و امر و نهی و ناسخ و منسوخ بدوست، و حکم مر او راست بحکم ﴿إِنَّمَا وَلِيُّكُمُ اللَّهُ وَرَسُولُهُ﴾[۴] و بحکم إِنِّي وَلِيُّ اللَّهِ فِي الْأَرْضِ ترجمه

يَدُ اللَّهِ فَوْقَ أَيْدِيهِم از آن آمد بشأنِ او ‏ ‏ ‏ ‏ که بالاتر ز دستِ او نباشد هیچ دست اصلاً

و شریعت و احکامِ این عالم و معادِ همهٔ مؤمنان و نیکان با ذاتِ مقدسِ مولانا است عزّ و علا چنانچه در قرآن شریف می آید که قوله تعالیٰ ﴿كُلٌّ إِلَيْنَا رَاجِعُونَ﴾[۵] - ﴿وَإِنَّ إِلَىٰ رَبِّكَ الرُّجْعَىٰ﴾[۶] - ﴿وَإِنَّا لِلَّهِ وَإِنَّا إِلَيْهِ رَاجِعُونَ﴾[۷] و عالم انسان که اهلِ شناخت اند عالم همیشگی و جاودانی و بقای از لیست، و معادِ کافران و منافقان با عدمِ جاودانی و نابود و لا یزالی

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۱ آیه ۶۴ از سورة العنکبوت (29) ۲ از آیه ۲۱ از سورة النحل (16) ۳ آیه ۱۰ از سورة الفتح (48) ۴ از آیه ۶۰ از سورة المائدة (5)
۵ از آیه ۹۳ از سورة الانبیاء (21) ۶ آیه ۸ از سورة العلق (96) ۷ آیه ۱۵۱ از سورة البقرة (2)

که دوزخ حقیقی است و آنکه بعضی از ایشان بصورت سباع و حیوانات بازگردند و عقوبتِ خود بکشند نموده ایم که ایشان هرگز بحق نتوان رسیدن الا درک بدرک نمودیم که اهل حق اهل دین و دعوتِ مولانا اند، پس هرکه راه بدیشان نبرد بحق تعالی نرسد و از حق تعالی که او عالمِ بقای ابدیست و زندگانیِ سرمدیست فرو افتاده باشد و چون از این جا بیفتاد و بعالمِ نیستی رفت پس مردمی که بواسطهٔ ایشان بمعاد خود رسد مردم دین و دعوت باشند و معادِ اهل تضاد اگر بکوشند و براه حق درآیند عالمِ ترتّب باشد و معادِ اهلِ ترتّب اگر سعی کنند بعالم وحدت باشد، و مؤمنانی که نیکو صفات و نیکو اخلاق باشند و در بندگیِ خداوند خویش تقصیر نکنند فرشته باشند و آنان که روی از خداوند خویش بگردانند و مردم را گمراه کنند دیو و غول باشند، و پری آن کس که در نیکی بمرتبهٔ فرشته نرسیده باشند و ببدی بمرتبه دیوی فی الجمله عرش و کرسی و لوح و قلم و بهشت و دوزخ همه مردمی باشند، و بهشت شخصِ مردی که خلق را با خدا و خدائی خواند و همان شخصِ صواب باشد و پیغمبر می فرماید که سلمان جانِ بهشت است و دوزخ شخصِ مردمی که خلق را از خدا و خدائی دور کند و همچنین شخصی سبب عذاب خود و همهٔ دوزخیان باشد[۱]...

و حضرت بابا سیّدنا می فرماید که چون سنگِ سیاه را خواهند عذاب کنند با شخص عذاب نام کنند، پس در آخرت سنگ سیاه و سفید هم مردم باشند، و تا کسی همه چیز را معیّن و مشخّص نکند از موهومات خلاص نیابد

و بتوفیق مولانا در بابِ نفسِ ناطقه خواهیم نوشت و حکایت مبدٔ و معاد را آنجا بتفصیل خواهیم آورد، چون بندهٔ مؤمن که شایستگی و بندگیِ خداوند داشته باشد و عنایت و رحمت خداوندِ زمانِ او را دریابد و در او طلبِ خداشناسی و راه خدا نیز پیدا شود و بکار بنفاد و دو فرقه

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[۱] اینجا چند کلمه خوانده نمیشود

فرو بگردد و بطلان همه را ببیند و بداند که تا غایت او نیز چون دیگران خدای را بوهم و خیال
می پرستیده است و آتش پشیمانی در او گیرد و نیستی و هستی و معنای او را بسوزد و توفیق
مولانا راه نمائی او کند تا یکی از حدود دین حق که داعیان محق و معلمان صادق اند برسند
و بعد از آنکه معلم حق او را آزمایش بسیار بکند و او را شایستهٔ بندگی مولانا داند او را بقدر
حوصلهٔ او سخن دعوت گوید و او اجابت او از میان جان بکند و بامر او مأمور شود و سر از
دعوت و طاعت او نه پیچد، این بندهٔ صاحب یقین را نام مستجیب نهند و او را از حجت و
برهان دین حق چیزی تعلیم کنند و مثل او در قرآن پشه زده اند که قوله تعالی[1] أَنْ يَضْرِبَ
مَثَلًا مَّا بَعُوضَةً فَمَا فَوْقَهَا که او از آب علم حقیقت خیزد و ضعیف تر از همه پرندها
است، و پرندگی بر آسمان دلیل است که دشمن پیل است بر مناسبت بر میان پرنده و
اجرام علوی که حدود دین حق اند، و پیل جانوری ست گران جان و بزمین مانده و بسوی آسمان
نتواند نگاه کردن، و او مثل دانشمند اهل ظاهر است، و پشهٔ پوست او را بدرد پوست ظاهر
او، و این مثل است بر مسلط بودن مستجیب دین حق بر اهل ظاهر و خراب کردن او ظاهر را بر ظاهریان
و چون مستجیب در مرتبهٔ تعلیم بکمال رسد و سخن او از روی حجت بمرتبهٔ رسیده باشد که
تواند دیگری را راه نماید و از گمراهی بدر آورد او را مأذون سازند باذن آن معلم و مأذون اکبر،
و او مأذون اصغر باشد و طائفه را که معلم اجازت دهد او دعوت کند، و چون درین مرتبه
بکمال رسد و استحقاق مرتبهٔ دیگر پیدا کند از حضرت حجت مأذون اکبر پیدا کند، و مأذون مرتبهٔ
آن است که او را اذن دهند مطلقاً که هر کسی را اصلاح داند دعوت کند و چون استحقاق بیشتر
پیدا کند بمرتبهٔ معلم برسد که او را حجت اعظم در جزیرهٔ از جزائر نصب کند، و از لواحق دوازده گانه
گردد که اصحاب جزائر اند و هر جا مومنی و یا مستجیبی در آن ناحیت و جزیره باشد بامر و فرمان او باشد

[1] از آیه ۲۴ از سورة البقرة (2)

وبعد از آن مرتبهٔ داعیست که او را اجازت دعوت فرمایند مطلقاً و هیچ جزیره و جای را مخصوص نگردانند، و بعد از آن مرتبهٔ حجّت اعظم است، و بعد از آن امام است و میان امام و حجّت اعظم هیچ واسطهٔ نباشد، و علم حجّت تأییدی باشد و حجّت معصوم از خطا باشد و او را مرتبهٔ عقل اوّلست، مولانا لذکره السّجود والتسبیح را بی واسطهٔ او نتوان شناخت و خدای را جز بخدا دیگر بهیچ کس نتوان شناخت، و آنکه خدای را شناسد یک کس بیش نتوان بود او حجّت اعظم است، و دیگران را خداشناسی باو باید بود و ظهور و اشراق عقل در او پیدا شود و او باب علم و فضل و رحمت مولانا باشد و او واسطهٔ کشف حقائق و دفع شبهات گردد و والی و فرمان ده همه بندگان مؤمن او باشد و هرکه سر از فرمان او به پیچد جای او دوزخ و عذاب جاودانی باشد و ظهور اسماء الله الحسنی وصفاته العلیا در او بکمال باشد و همه حجّتان یکی باشند و امام از حجّت که بدور کشف قائم قیامت قیامات است نزدیکتر باشد و او بحسب کشف کردن حقائق مرتبهٔ فزون تر داشته و هرکه از این عذاب رست برحمت مولانا رسید و هرکه گرفتار شد العیاذ بالله جز بعذاب ابدی نرسد، برحمت مولانا عزّ و علا توفیق رفیق گرداناد و در رحمت بر بندگان کشاده داراد و این مراتب که شمردیم هفت مرتبه بود و ستر این در باب هفتم گفته شود بتوفیق مولانا

باب هفتم در باز نمودن بعضی از تأویلات متفرقه، و ستر وضع این رساله بر هفت باب و شمّهٔ از تعلیق آفاق و انفس باید دیگر گویم بتوفیق مولانا عزّ و علا

طهارت پاک کردن خویش است از کردار ظاهریان و وضو ساختن رجوع بعلم امام است چه آب در حدّ تأویل علم حقیقت است، و چون بنده خود را از کردار ظاهریان پاک کند بعلم دین که معرفت امام است برسد و اگر وقتی در آن ظاهر افتد باز گشت باعلم حقیقت باید کرد تا پاک

شود و سر دست و بینی و دهن شستن معرفت داعی و لاحق و معلّم است و روی شستن و دست تا ساعد معرفت اساسین و مسح سر و پای معرفت اصلین از حدث صحبت نااهلان و مخالفت دین حق و راز با اهل ظاهر گفتن

و معنی تیمّم یعنی که در جائی که حجت نباشد از داعی و معلّم و مأذون طهارت باید حاصل کردن و جنابت دوگونه است جماع و خواب و جماع را معنی تعلیم است یعنی اگر خطائی یا غلطی افتد معلّم را باید که خود را پاک کند بعلم تأییدی که او آب روان است و اگر علم تأییدی نیاید و تعلیمی که او مثل تیمّم است و جنابت که در خواب باشد احتلام است و او سبب بلوغ است یعنی چون بندهٔ مؤمن بالغ شد بعلم تأییدی و علوم دین باید که خود را از علوم ظاهر پاک کند

و معنی نماز پیوستگی ست چه نماز صلوٰت از وصلت است و او پیوستگی ست به معرفت امام و دین حق بعد از طهارت که او بیزاری ست از مخالفان و بانگ نماز دعوت است اهل حق را بسوی شناخت و معرفت امام و این کار بزرگ است و از این جهت باید گفت حیَّ عَلیٰ خَیْرِ العَمَلِ که بهترین عملهاست و آنکه پیغمبر می فرماید که قال النّبی علیه السّلام المؤذّنون أطوَلُ النّاسِ أعناقاً یومَ القیامَةِ یعنی گفت پیغمبر علیه السّلام دراز گردن تأویل شناختن مردم است داعی را و هر که این اسرار شریعت بدانست بحقیقت رسید و چون بمعرفت امام پیوست بصلوٰت دائم که الّذینَ هُم عَلیٰ صَلوٰتِهِم دائمونَ[1] رسد و حکم ظاهر از آن برخاست و بقرآن می آید در باب شرائع که قوله تعالیٰ باطِنُهُ فِیهِ الرَّحمَةُ وظاهِرُهُ مِن قِبَلِهِ العَذابُ[2] و گور بدن آدمی است و عذاب گور احکام شریعت اند و موکّلان دوزخ و منکر و نکیر آنهایند که ظالمان ظاهر اند و مولانا قائم القیامة خداوند زمان لذکره السّجود و التّسبیح و احکام قیامت و

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[1] آیه ۳۳ از سورة المعارج (70) [2] از آیه ۱۳ از سورة الحدید (57)

احکام او باطن شریعت باشد، فرشتگان ثواب حدود دین او، و اهل جنّت آنها که از ظاهر برهند و بباطن بگروند، و جزای ایشان در دنیا آنکه تکالیف شرعی از ایشان بردارند، قال النبی علیه السلام یَضِیعُ عَنْهُمْ أَجْرُهُمْ وَالْأَغْلَالُ الَّتِي كَانَتْ عَلَيْهِمْ،

وصفت روز قیامت این که یَوْمَ تُبْلَى السَّرَائِرُ[1] ومعنی مسجد جامع حجّت است که همه آنجا گرد آیند و مساجد دیگر معلّمان، و معنی قبله آنکه همه را روی با حجّت باید و حجّت را روی جز با امام نیست

و معنی روزه آنکه تقیّه کنی و دین دعوت از مخالفان نگاه داری، و روز عید که او قیامت قیامات است که آنجا بسطوت امر قائم اهل بحجّت و برهان مقهور باشند

و معنی زکوٰت علم دین آموختن است و به بندگان مؤمن بقدر حوصلۂ هر کس رسانیدن، و آنکه زکوٰت والی بستاند و بر بعیت کس قسمت کند و آن نیست که علوم دین پیش امام جمع است و او بر مراتب هر کس قسمت کند و قسمت کننده حجّت باشد و حجّت بر مراتب قسمت کند،

و معنی حج بیرون شدن است از اعتقادی که اوّل در آن بوده منزل بمنزل از مستجیب تا حجّت، و لبّیک گفتن قبول دعوت داعی کردن، و احرام گرفتن از ظاهر و اهل ظاهر واگشتن و صید و تصرّف کردن و جماع و دیگر چیزها حرام است تا حج بگذارد یعنی چون از اهل ظاهر جدا شد باید که دعوت کسی نکند تا ما دامیکه بکعبه و قبلۂ حقیقت نرسد و اجازت دعوت کردن نیابد، وسعی و طواف شتافتن در طلب امام، و جمع و کسر دلیل بحجّت و امام است، و سنگ انداختن در گردن ابلیسیان و آب زمزم طلب علم دین کردن و از احرام بیرون آمدن گذاشتن عذاب شرائع

معنی حیض آن است که هر لاحقی و معلّمی که او را شبهه پیدا شود اگرچه بحدّ ابلاغ رسیده باشد

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[1] آیه ۹ از سورة الطّارق (86)

نشاید او را نماز؛ یعنی دعوت کردن تا از آن شک و شبهه بیرون نیاید؛ و آبستن را خود حیض نباشد
یعنی هر که علم حقیقت برگرفت از شک و شبهت بیرون آمد و زن بزرگ سال را حیض نباشد
یعنی چون در درجهٔ قبول دیرینه شد از شک و شبهت باز رست؛ و معنیِ استحاضه آنکه تا مادامیکه
او را شک پیش آید در هر سخن با معلّم دین بازگردد و از معلّمان باز پرسد
و معنیِ خواب غافل بودن است از علم دین بعد از آنکه با ورسیده چه غفلتِ کلّی مردن است؛
و خواب مانندِ مرگ است امّا حقیقةً مرگ نیست یعنی در دین و دعوت که زندگی ست درآمده
بخواب غفلت رفته و از خواب بیدار گشتن فکر کردن؛ طهارت بعد از خواب رجوع با علم دین کردن
و معنیِ لباس و ستر پوشیدنِ سِرّ و عهد از نامستحق پوشیده داشتن؛ و معنیِ سجدهٔ سهو آنکه
اگر مأذون یا داعی را سهو در میان افتد رجوع با علمِ باطن با حجّت باید کرد چه سجده دلیلِ ناطق و
حجّت است؛ و معنیِ سفر آنکه درجاتِ تعلیم ببرد؛ و معنیِ نکاح در عهدِ معلّم درآمدن و نطفهٔ امر از آن
قبول کردن یعنی قبولِ سخنِ دعوت؛ و معنیِ طلاق بیزاری از نااهل یعنی کسی که مستحقِ سخنِ دین
نباشد؛ و معنیِ مُردن آنکه از پایهٔ معرفت و حقیقت بیفتد؛ و معنیِ نمازِ جنازه آنکه چون متعلّم را
جهل پیدا شود و بمیرد یا بدعوتِ باطل؛ و حِ حقیقتِ او را بکشند و معلّم او را بدعوتِ علمِ حقیقت
یاری دهد؛ اگر قبول کرد بنفَسِ عیسوی زنده شد؛ اگر نه در خاکِ جهلِ علمِ ظاهر دفن کنند و بپوسد؛
و در این رساله این مقدار شمّه بود از تأویلاتِ شرائع و ظاهرِ قرآن هم از اینجا تمام آن باید
جُست و شمّهٔ نیز از تأویلاتِ قرآن اینجا یاد خواهیم کرد که قوله تعالیٰ: فَبِظُلْمٍ مِّنَ الَّذِينَ
هَادُوا حَرَّمْنَا عَلَيْهِمْ طَيِّبَاتٍ[1] مِنَ الرِّزْقِ[2] یعنی ظلم کرده بودند آنان که راه یافته بودند
حرام برایشان کردیم روزیهای پاک را؛ پس گوییم در تأویل اینکه آنانکه به پیغمبر راه یافته بودند
یعنی امرِ خلافت وصی را بر غیر قرار داده اند چه معنیِ ظلم چیزیست غیر محلِ خود؛ و در باب پیشتر پیدا

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[1] از آیه ۱۶۰ از سورة النساء (4) [2] از آیه ۳۰ از سورة الاعراف (7)

کردیم که خلافت حقِ وصی بود، حرام شد برایشان روزهای پاک یعنی تأویل قرآن که پاک است، و تأویل قرآن علی علیه السّلام راست که قرآن تمام ارثِ اوست، و از شبههٔ ظاهر و تصرّفِ غصب که اهلِ ظاهر را باشد، و نیز حرام شد بهر آنکه بر ظاهرِ شریعت استاده اند از اسرارِ شرائع و رفعِ تکالیف از نشانِ این آیت که قوله تعالیٰ: اَلْيَوْمَ أُحِلَّ لَكُمُ الطَّيِّبَاتُ[۱] یعنی روز عبارت از زمانیست که آفتاب ظاهر باشد و مراد بروز آفتابِ امامت است یعنی هر که بآفتابِ امامت رسید و بدو بیناشد طیّبات برا و حلال شد بقول این آیت که قوله تعالیٰ: مَنْ حَرَّمَ زِينَةَ اللهِ الَّتِي أَخْرَجَ لِعِبَادِهِ وَالطَّيِّبَاتِ مِنَ الرِّزْقِ[۲] یعنی بگوای محمّد که حرام کرده شد بسبیل استفهام براهلِ طاعت و عبادت و نماز و درست نیست برایشان و حرام است زینت و زیورهائی که خدای تعالیٰ برای بندگان خود مهیّا کرده است زیورهای پاک را بقول این آیت که قوله تعالیٰ: قُلْ هُوَ لِلَّذِينَ آمَنُوا هُدًى وَشِفَاءٌ[۳] یعنی آیتهای قرآنند که مؤمنان را راهِ راست و شفا است و این خطا و ذلّت است بآن طائفهٔ ظاهر که گویند قرآن را تأویل نشاید کرد، و روزهای پاک آن عالم حقیقت است که خالی از آمیزشِ شبهه و گمراهی است و حلال است برآنکه امام وقتِ خود را بمرتبهٔ خود بداند و حدود علوی را بشناسد بدین معنی که قوله تعالیٰ: وَإِذْ أَخَذْنَا مِنَ النَّبِيِّينَ مِيثَاقَهُمْ وَمِنْكَ وَمِنْ نُوحٍ وَإِبْرَاهِيمَ وَمُوسَى وَعِيسَى أَنْ أَقِيمُوا الدِّينَ[۴] یعنی ای محمّد امامت را ما گرفتیم از همهٔ پیغمبر عهدهای ایشان که برپای دارند عهد غدیر خمّ را یعنی اشارت کنند بقائم قیامت و برپای دارند وصیِ خود را که صاحب تأویل یوم اوّل و آخر است که قوله تعالیٰ: إِذَا جَاءَ نَصْرُ اللهِ وَالْفَتْحُ وَرَأَيْتَ[۵] تا آخر بخواند یعنی چون ظهورِ قائم قیامت باشد ببین که گروه گروه بدینِ حق درمی آیند و تو استغفار

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[۱] از آیه ۶ از سورة المائدة (5) [۲] آیه ۳۰ از سورة الاعراف (7) [۳] از آیه ۴۴ از سوره فصلت (41)
[۴] از آیه ۷ از سورة الاحزاب (33) [۵] این شاید از آیهٔ دیگر گرفته [۶] آیهٔ اوّل از سورة النصر (110)

کن و بازگشت بخدا کن از وضع اعمال ظاهر و هرچه در مثول ظاهر شد از امثال بازگشت بسوی ممثول باید کرد که قوله تعالیٰ خَتَمَ اللّٰهُ عَلَىٰ قُلُوبِهِمْ وَعَلَىٰ سَمْعِهِمْ وَعَلَىٰ أَبْصَارِهِمْ غِشَاوَةٌ[1] یعنی مهر کرده خدای تعالی بر دل و گوش و چشمهای اهل ظاهر را که راه بحقیقت نبرده اند که قوله تعالیٰ يُؤْمِنُونَ بِالْجِبْتِ وَالطَّاغُوتِ[2] یعنی ایمان آورند بپیشوایانی که ایشان را از راه ببندازند و گمراه کنند بقول این آیت که قوله تعالیٰ صُمٌّ بُكْمٌ عُمْيٌ فَهُمْ لَا يُبْصِرُونَ[3] و امثال اینها در شأن آنان است که از امامانِ حق کور و کر شدند و با امامانِ باطل ایمان آورند و چشم و دلِ ایشان مهر شد و در شأنِ امامانِ حق است که قوله تعالیٰ وَلِيُّ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا يُخْرِجُهُمْ مِنَ الظُّلُمَاتِ إِلَى النُّورِ[4] یعنی تمام عالم منوّر و نورانی گردانندهٔ آنها اند و این در شأن امامانِ حق است که قوله تعالیٰ نُورُ السَّمٰوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ مَثَلُ نُورِهِ كَمِشْكٰوةٍ فِيهَا مِصْبَاحٌ الْمِصْبَاحُ فِي زُجَاجَةٍ[5] یعنی نورِ حق تعالیٰ امامِ زمان است که در آسمان و زمین است که آسمان و زمین را روشن گردانیده است و از مشکوٰة پیغمبر است که بنور آن سرور خلق هدایت می یابند و زجاجه دلِ علیست که او وصی است بعد از نبی علیه السلام که کوکب ذرّیت برافروخته شده از شجرهٔ مبارک زیتون که ابراهیم خلیل الرحمن است و علی عمران است و پیغمبر علیه السلام از نسلِ ابراهیم اند و علی علیه السلام از نسلِ عمران است چنانچه در آیت کریمه آمده که قوله تعالیٰ إِنَّ اللّٰهَ اصْطَفَىٰ آدَمَ وَنُوحًا وَآلَ إِبْرَاهِيمَ وَآلَ عِمْرَانَ عَلَى الْعَالَمِينَ[6] ترجمه

طوبیٰ ...... مِنَ الْعَرْش هر دل که او مطیع امامِ زمان شود

چنانچه در باب سیّم بیان کرده شد در شأن امامان باطل این آیت که قوله تعالیٰ

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[1] از آیه ۷ از سورة البقرة (2) [2] از آیه ۵۱ از سورة النساء (4) [3] آیه ۱۷ و ۱۷۱ از سورة البقرة (2) فقط لفظ آخر باید یرجعون یا یعقلون باشد [4] آیه ۲۵۸ از سورة البقرة (2) [5] آیه ۳۵ از سورة النور (24) [6] از آیه ۳۰ از سورة آل عمران (3)

وَالَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا أَوْلِيَاؤُهُمُ الطَّاغُوتُ يُخْرِجُونَهُم مِّنَ النُّورِ إِلَى الظُّلُمَاتِ[1]
یعنی طاغوت از طغیان است و آن سرباز کشیدن است از امر خدای تعالیٰ که امامانِ حق اند
که قوله تعالیٰ' أَوَمَن كَانَ مَيْتًا فَأَحْيَيْنَاهُ[2] یعنی مردۀ جهل را زنده بعلم دین کردیم
که قوله تعالیٰ' وَاعْبُدْ رَبَّكَ حَتَّىٰ يَأْتِيَكَ الْيَقِينُ[3] یعنی تکلیف شرعی تا آن
زمان است که مرد بیقین رسیده باشد که قوله تعالیٰ' وَلَا يُبْدِينَ زِينَتَهُنَّ إِلَّا
لِبُعُولَتِهِنَّ أَوْ آبَائِهِنَّ أَوْ آبَاءِ بُعُولَتِهِنَّ[4] یعنی زنانی که متعلّمان اند ظاهر نگردانند این
مسئله را معلّمان چون مردان اند و متعلّمان چون زنان و ظاهر نگردانند که در دین و دعوت
بخاطر ایشان آید که برشوهران ایشان که معلّمان اند که قوله تعالیٰ' لَا تَقْتُلُوا الصَّيْدَ
وَأَنتُمْ حُرُمٌ[5] یعنی بی دستور و بی ارشاد دعوتِ حق نباید کرد' و مار و کژدم و ثعبانِ
ضرر رساننده را توان کُشت یعنی با اہلِ مباحثہ مقاتله توان کرد و یاجوج و ماجوج را که ضدِ
دین اند که ابراهیم خلیل الرحمن ایشان را خورد و مُرد کرد اہلِ ظاهر بودند' و آنکه تیر بر
دوشِ بزرگترین ایشان نهاد آنکه بحجّت ایشان ایشان را باطل کرد که قوله
تعالیٰ' إِنَّ اللَّهَ يَأْمُرُ بِالْعَدْلِ وَالْإِحْسَانِ[6] یعنی مراد بعدل مرتبۂ پیغمبر است
چون شریعت عدل است و پیغمبر' و مراد باحسان مرتبۂ وصی است که مولانا علی است
علیه السّلام چه احسان آن است که بعضی را بعطا ممتاز کنند' و این مرتبۂ وصی است که همیشه
بوده است و خواهد بودن که قوله تعالیٰ' هُوَ الْأَوَّلُ وَالْآخِرُ وَالظَّاهِرُ
وَالْبَاطِنُ وَهُوَ بِكُلِّ شَيْءٍ عَلِيمٌ[7] که بعضی را بعطا بتأویل ممتاز گردانند' و در حدیث
می آید که قال النّبی علیه السّلام' الإحسانُ إنْ تعبُدُ اللهَ كأنّكَ
تراهُ' و مولانا علیه السّلام می فرماید که لم أعبُدْ ربًّا لم أراهُ ویَنهى عنِ الفحشاءِ[8]

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[1] از آیه ۲۵۹ از سورۃ البقرۃ (2) [2] آیه ۱۲۲ از سورۃ الانعام (6) [3] آیه ۹۹ (آخر) از سورۃ الحجر (15)
[4] از آیه ۳۱ از سورۃ النور (24) [5] از آیه ۹۶ از سورۃ المائدۃ (5) [6] از آیه ۹۲ از سورۃ النحل (16)
[7] آیه ۳ از سورۃ الحدید (57) [8] اینجا ظاهراً یک ورق افتاده است

.... مولانا همهٔ بندگان را توفیقِ طاعتِ دین کرامت کناد

واین نیز شمّهٔ از تأویلات قرآن شریف گفته شد تا این رساله ازآن خالی نباشد، آمدیم بر سرِ وضع این رساله بر هفت باب، گوئیم چون نظر در دین حق و اساس و ناطقِ او کردیم حدود آن را بر هفت مرتبه یافتیم از امام و باب و اساس و مستجیب، و چون نظر درآفاق و انفس کردیم کلّیات آن بر هفت مرتبه یافتیم، و در قرآن شریف می آید که قوله تعالیٰ، سَنُرِيهِمْ آيَاتِنَا فِي الْآفَاقِ وَفِي أَنفُسِهِمْ[۱] یعنی بنمائیم ایشان را مراتب حدودِ دین درآفاق وانفس، شمّهٔ ازآن بیان کنم

اوّلاً گوئیم عدد هفت حدّ اول عددِ کامل است، ومعنیِ کامل آن است که مشتمل باشد برعددی که کامل است در فردیت، یعنی مرتبهٔ جمع افراد داشته باشد، وآن عدد بر سه مرتبه است، یعنی ناطق واساس و باب برعددِ یک کامل باشد و در زوجیت یعنی مرتبهٔ ازواج داشته باشد و او عدد چهار است، چهار و سه هفت باشد، و موجوداتِ آفاق وانفس را بر این میزان می یابیم، و یک میزانِ دیگری ست هشت ہم از هفت جدا می شود چه از یکی تا که بشمارند که ولایت است هفت می شود، ویک میزانِ دیگر دوازده است وآن از چهار و سه که هفت است پیدا می شود، پس اعداد هفت باشد

گوئیم هفت آسمان است که کوکب سیاره هفت گانه دارد و هفت زمین است و هفت دریاست و هفت اقلیم است و هفت بادجهنده است و هفت روز هفته است وا ینها هفت هفت است، وانسان راهفت عضو است دو دست و دو پای و زانو و روی[؟] و دماغ و دل و جگر و زهره وشُش وسپرز و گرده، بوجه دیگر موی و پوست و گوشت واستخوان و رگ و پیه و خون، و هفت قوّتِ مدرک اوّل سامعه و باصره و ذائقه وشامّه و نامیه و

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[۱] از آیه ۵۳ ازسورهٔ فصلت (41)

عاقله و واهمه، و هفت قوت کار فرمای اوّل جاذبه و ماسکه و هاضمه و دافعه و غاذیه و نامیه و مولّده، و بهفت طور بوجود می آید سلاله وطین ونطفه وعلقه ومضغه ولحم وعظام خَلَقْنَاهُ آخَرَ واستقامت مجموع است ودر عمر خود بهفت طور گردد وضیع وجنین وصبی وغلام وشاب وکهل وشیخ وانیها هفت هفت است

ومحمّد رسول الله نیز هفت کلمه است ولا اله الا الله نیز هفت مقطع دارد وقرآن نیز هفت قسمت است وهفت سورهٔ طویل درانجاست وهفت حامیم وهفت آیت است وبسم الله نیز هفت حرف است

وصاحب احکام هفت اند وشش ادوار شرائع اند آدم ونوح وابراهیم وموسی وعیسی ومحمّد رسول الله ویکی ازآن قائم است لِذِکْرِهِ السُّجُود والتّسبیح، واوصیا نیز هفت اند شیث وسام واسماعیل وهارون وشمعون ومولانا علی علیه السّلام، ودرحدیث می آید که قال النبی علیه السّلام، خَلَقَهُمْ مِنْ سَبْعٍ وَرَزَقَهُمْ مِنْ سَبْعٍ فَسَجَدُوا اللهَ عَلَى سَبْعٍ

وکل مزه ها هفت است وکل رنگها هفت است و إلّا الله میزانیست که همهٔ احکام باو راست شود، اصل همهٔ علمها علم حروف است

پس گویم این یک کلمهٔ توحید دو حکم دارد نفی واثبات وسه جوهر است إلّا الله چهار کلمه است لا اله إلّا الله هفت مقطع دارد و لا اله الا الله دوازده حرف است، مجموع بیست وهشت باشد ......[1]

عالم دین را نیز براین میزان یافتم ناطق واساس، ناطق تنزیل را واساس تاویل را سه درجه بیابند مستجیبی ومأذونی ومعلّمی، چهار درجهٔ عطائی باشد لاحق وحجت واساسین و

[1] اینجا ظاهرا چند ورق افتاده است

ائمه در عصر هفت باشد، لواحق دوازده، بیست و هشت باشد، لا آله الّا الله که میزان است دوازده حرف، محمّد رسول الله دوازده حرف، امیرالمؤمنین دوازده حرف، علی ابن ابی طالب دوازده حرف، محمّد بن اسماعیل دوازده حرف، همچنین نام بزرگوار قائم خداوند هژده هزار عالم لِذکرِهِ السّجود والتّسبیح مولانا مستنصر بالله دوازده حرف، و نام بزرگوارش که بآن همه موجودات زنده اند چنانچه خدای تعالیٰ فرموده که خالقُ کُلِّ شَیْءٍ ورازقُ کُلِّ حَیٍّ وجای دیگر فرموده که حَیٌّ لا یَمُوتُ کَرِیمٌ لا یَزالُ النّورَ فی السَّمآءِ وَفی الأَرْضِ وَفی البَشَرِ چنانچه در قرآنِ شریف خطاب بناطق آمده که قوله تعالیٰ، فَأَقِمْ وَجْهَكَ لِلدِّینِ حَنِیفاً فِطْرَةَ اللهِ الَّتی فَطَرَ النّاسَ عَلَیْها لا تَبْدِیلَ لِخَلْقِ اللهِ ذٰلِكَ الدِّینُ القَیِّمُ[1] یعنی که بپای دارای محمّد روی خود را از برای دین نیکو، وآن دین سیف فطرتِ خداست که آدمیان را در آن فطرت آفریده است و نیست تبدیل مرخلقِ خدای را، دلیل که قوله تعالیٰ، خَلَقَ آدَمَ عَلیٰ صُورَتِهِ الرَّحْمٰنُ یعنی گفت خدای تعالیٰ که خلق گردانیدم آدم را بصورت وصفت خاص رحمانیِ خود که قوله تعالیٰ، وَنَفَخَ فیهِ مِن رُوحِهِ[2] یعنی گفت خدای تعالیٰ که دمیدم نفخهٔ روح خود را در این قالب آدم، و باز خبر داده که قوله تعالیٰ وَإِذْ قُلْنا لِلْمَلائِکَةِ اسْجُدُوا لِآدَمَ فَسَجَدُوا إِلّا إِبْلِیسَ أَبیٰ وَاسْتَکْبَرَ وَکانَ مِنَ الکافِرِینَ[3] یعنی گفت خدای تعالیٰ که جمیع فرشتگان و ملائکتان را که سجده کنید این آدم را آنگاه جمیع فرشتگان و ملائکتان سجده کردند الّا ابلیس که ابا و استکبار نمود و گفت سجده مر خدای راست، آدم از خاک است و خاک ظلمت است و من از آتشم و آتش از نور است، چون نافرمانی کرد طوقِ لعنت در گردنِ او افتاد و رانده از ازل و ابد

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[1] آیه ۲۹ از سورة الروم (30) [2] از آیه ۸ از سورة السجده (32) [3] آیه ۳۲ از سورة البقرة (2)

شد پس همان نور در عالم است و امر سجدهٔ او بر آدم فرضِ عین و عین فرض است که آدمِ دَوْرِ خود را بداند و بشناسد تا ناجی و رستگار باشد

و باز فرمود و گفت که قال النبی علیه السّلام کُنْتُ نَبِیًّا وَآدَمُ بَیْنَ الماءِ والطِّینِ یعنی گفت خدای تعالی که پیش از عالم و آدم نورِ نبوّت و ولایت بچندین هزار سال و قرن با من در پسِ پردهٔ لاریب بود نخواستم که خود را در عالم هویدا کنم بدین صورت و سیرت و صفت اظهار نمودم

این است دینِ راست خدای تعالی در حدِ تأویل و در کنایت است از امام معنی این آیت این است که بشناس ای ناطق امام و خدای خود را تا ترا دینِ راست حاصل شود و این دینِ راست فطرتِ خداست یعنی حدود علوی که آدمیان بحدود علوی زنده اند یعنی حدودِ دین و عارفان ایشان هم بر آن فطرت آمده اند یعنی این مردمان همان آثارِ حدودِ علوی اند که تشخیصِ ایشان تعیین یافته و چون نقاب شخص برگرفته شود همان ماند که بوده باشد چنانکه در قرآن شریف آمده که قوله تعالی كُلُّ شَيْءٍ هَالِكٌ إِلَّا وَجْهَهُ[۱] یعنی هر چیزی که هست فانی ست الّا روی آن چیزی که امام است و بدین معنی اشارت است بدین آیت که قوله تعالی كُلُّ شَيْءٍ يَرْجِعُ إِلَى أَصْلِهِ[۲] یعنی بازگشتِ همه چیزها باصلِ اوست (ترجمه)

باز گردد باصلِ خود همه چیز — زرِ صافی و نقره و ارزیز

و بحکمِ این آیت که قوله تعالی اللهُ يَبْدَؤُا الْخَلْقَ ثُمَّ يُعِيدُهُ[۳] ثُمَّ يُحْيِي وَيُمِيتُ[۴] یعنی خدای تعالی پیدا گردانید خلق را پس بازگردانید ایشان را بسوی خود ختم این نکته چند که در آفاق و انفس کردیم

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۱ از آیه ۸۸ از سورة القصص (28) ۲ این آیهٔ قرآن نیست ۳ از آیه ۱۰ از سورة الروم (30)
۴ این عبارت از آیهٔ دیگر است شاید از آیهٔ ۲۶۰ از سورة البقرة (2)

وبعد از آن فوائد متفرقه را یاد کنیم و گوئیم بتوفیق و قوّتِ خداوندِ زمان، و آن گفته شود
که بر زبان بندهٔ خود براند

عبد الله ابن عبّاس رضی الله عنه گوید که آن شجرهٔ آدم که از ثمره اش بخورد و برگش بخود پوشید شجرهٔ علمِ خیر و شرّ بود یعنی علمی بود، و آن ثمرهٔ شجره علم باطنش بود که مردم را شاید که آن را شجرة الخلد گویند، و آن برگی که ثمر در میانش همی پرورد علم ظاهرش که خورش دیگر حیوانات را شاید، و چون شجرهٔ علم خیر و شرّ مردمی بود شَجَرَةِ الْخُلْدِ وَمُلْكٍ لَا يَبْلَىٰ [1] هم مرد باشد زیرا که خلد و ملک لا یبلی ثمرهٔ شجرهٔ تواند بود که خدا را آنجا بینند، و آن کلمهٔ که توبهٔ آدم بتوسّطش پذیرفته شد مردمی باشد بقول این آیت که قوله تعالیٰ مَثَلًا كَلِمَةً طَيِّبَةً كَشَجَرَةٍ طَيِّبَةٍ أَصْلُهَا ثَابِتٌ وَفَرْعُهَا فِي السَّمَاءِ [2]
و در عالم دین درخت طوبی اشارت است بذاتِ امام حق جلّ ذکره که پرتوِ نورِ معرفتِ او در وجودِ هر بهشتی که از بندگان عارف او سر بر میزند، و هر چه بندگان او در عالم دین و عالم امر خداوند خود تمام کنند در زمان مهیّا گردد، چنانچه خدای تعالیٰ گفته اند که قوله تعالیٰ فَجَعَلْنَاهُنَّ أَبْكَارًا عُرُبًا [3] یعنی گفت خدای تعالیٰ گردانیدیم ما حوران را و دختران را بکر و نارپستان،
بدانکه مشهور چنان است که درختِ طوبیٰ درختی است در بهشت که در غرفهٔ بهشت شاخی از آن آویزان، و هر چیزی که بهشتیان آرزو کنند در زمان از آن درخت پیدا شود، این بیانِ اشارت بمرتبهٔ اهلِ تأیید که علم و قدرت و ارادت ایشان هر سه یکیست بر این وجه هر چه ارادت اهل تأیید بآن تعلق گردد بر جهت علم ایشان در زمان آن چیز موجود گردد، و مجموع اهلِ بهشت را از تأیید نصیبی هست، کنایت بآن نموده شده که در حجرهٔ هر بهشتی شاخی از درختِ طوبی در روزنِ او آویزان، و اشارت بدین معنی که قوله تعالیٰ وَأَوْصَفْنَا [4]

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[1] از آیه ۱۱۸ از سورة طٰه (20) [2] از آیه ۲۹ از سورة ابراهیم (14) [3] آیه ۳۵ از سورة الواقعه (56)
[4] در قرآن وزوّجناهم گفته

بحورٍ عینٍ[1] یعنی صفت گردانیدیم اہل بہشت را بحورِ عین، وچون این مرتبہ از دیدۂ نامحرم کہ اہل تضاد اند پوشیدہ ومستور است ودر قرآن شریف بآن وقف نمودہ شدہ کہ قولہ تعالیٰ حُورٌ مَقْصُورَاتٌ فِي الْخِيَامِ[2] یعنی حور چند اند کہ باز داشتہ شدہ اند در پردہ ہا وہر کس کہ در سیرت ملک باشد بی ملکوت یا در ملکوت باشد بی ملک این مرتبۂ مشاہدۂ حور العین او را حاصل نمی شود، واشارت باین آیت کہ قولہ تعالیٰ لَمْ يَطْمِثْهُنَّ إِنْسٌ قَبْلَهُمْ وَلَا جَانٌّ[3] یعنی نرسیدہ است بحوران بہشت از بہشتیان آدمی ونہ جنی یعنی اہل ملک وملکوت راست

وچون معاودت وبازگشت بآن حالات ومشاہدات است کہ ہر بار عارف را لذات جدید می بخشد مانند رسیدن بمحبوب مرغوب از رسیدن باو لذتی حاصل شود

دربیان حور العین ودرختِ طوبیٰ بدانکہ صاحبِ توفیق اہل عیان گردد واثر فیض را در ہر ذرۂ از ذرات ملک ملکوت مشاہدہ بنماید وچون مشاہدۂ انوار ذات مبدأ در ہر ذرۂ متمثل گردد لاجرم باحسن صورت خواہد بود کہ حور العین عبارت از آن است، وظاہر است کہ طمع اہل عیان از مشاہدات حاصل نمی شود الا بعضی آن اثر از عالم امر کہ مقتضی ارواح وجمع ذات عارف بآن صورت متمثل باشد بر وجہ اتحاد ویکانگی چہ مشاہدۂ دانش بر شخصی عین ذات آن شخص می باشد

دربیانِ بہشت ودرہای بہشت، بدانکہ بہشت در عالم معقول عبارت است از بقاو دانش، ودر عالمِ محسوس عبارت است از لذات، پس عبارت باشد از اہلِ حق وبقا وآن اربابِ تأویل اند کہ حقائقِ تنزیل را دانستہ اند نہ اہل لذات کہ اصحابِ جاہ ومال اند اہل عالم سہ اند، سابقان واہل یمین واہل شمال، اما سابقان اہلِ وحدت اند وکمالِ

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[1] از آیہ ۵۴ از سورۃ الدخان (44) [2] آیہ ۷۲ از سورۃ الرحمٰن (55) [3] از آیہ ۵۶ از سورۃ الرحمٰن (55)

بهشت بوجود ایشان است چنانچه رسول فرموده در حق سلمان إِنَّ الْجَنَّةَ أَشْوَقُ إِلَى سَلْمَانَ مِنْ سَلْمَانَ إِلَى الْجَنَّةِ یعنی بدرستیکه بهشت مشتاق تراست بسلمان از سلمان ببهشت، و در شأن این طائفه آمده است که اَللّٰهُمَّ غَرِّقْنَا مِنْ غُرَفِهَا غُرَفًا یعنی ایشان را حجره که بالای حجره ست و برون حجرهٔ هر بهشتی شاخی از درخت طوبی آویزان و حوران و غلمان در خدمت استاده اند و بهترین بهشتیان را هفتاد هزار حلّه از حریر بهشت می پوشانند و کمترین بهشتیان را هفتاد حلّه از حریر بهشت میپوشانند و از چهار جوی بهشت که جوی آب و جوی شیر و جوی عسل مصفّا و جوی خمر است با ایشان آب می دهند، و خورشش بهشتیان از آن شاخ درخت طوبی است که هرچه مقصود انهاست حاصل می گردد حُوْرٌ مَّقْصُوْرَاتٌ فِي الْخِيَامِ[1] و بهشت جای پرهیزگاران است و اهل نار اهل تضادّ اند که با حوال متضادّهٔ عالم معذّب اند و این طائفه اهل دوزخ اند و اشارت باین سه طائفه که فَمِنْهُمْ ظَالِمٌ لِّنَفْسِهِ وَمِنْهُمْ مُّقْتَصِدٌ وَمِنْهُمْ سَابِقٌ بِالْخَيْرَاتِ[2] یعنی بعضی از اهل عالم ظالم نفس خود اند، چون آدمیان از دار دنیا بدار البقا سفر کنند اوّل سؤال منکر و نکیر پیش آید که مَنْ رَّبُّكُمْ وَمَا دِيْنُكُمْ وَمَنْ نَّبِيُّكُمْ وَمَنْ إِمَامُكُمْ وَمَا قِبْلَتُكُمْ وَمَنْ إِخْوَانُكُمْ اگر جواب باصواب از زبان بندهٔ مؤمن جاری شود که ربّ من پروردگار عالمیان است و دین من دین پاک حضرت محمّد مصطفی است و امام من امام حاضر الوقت است، پس دری از درهای بهشت بر روی او باز کنند و گرنه نعوذ بالله آنگاه بر سر پل صراط برند که هزار ساله راه سر بالا و هزار ساله راه برابر و هزار ساله راه سر نشیب از موی باریکتر و از تیغ برّاتر است، اگر از عهدهٔ آنکه مَنْ رَّبُّكُمْ بر آید فرشتهٔ رحمت از دست راست او پیش شده سر پل صراط همچون شاهراه صراط المستقیم

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[1] آیه ۷۲ از سورة الرحمن (55) [2] از آیه ۲۹ از سورة الملائکة (35)

شود از مشرق تا مغرب، چون کف دست مهیا و هموار گردد، و اگر نه نعوذ باالله خطا شده بجهنم و سقر افتد و بعذاب الیم گرفتار شود و بهترین دوزخیان را ازار حلّه از آتش دوزخ می پوشانند و خوراک ایشان یک من زقوم است و نیمهٔ آن آتش در شکم می رود و سوزش آن بچهار راه انفس سر میزند و نیمهٔ آن در حلق می آویزد و سوزش آن آتش بچهار راه آفاق اثر می کند که بیم هلاکت باشد، و بعضی دیگر جهد کنندگان اند و بعضی دیگر سابقان اند به نیکو یها

بدانکه مشهور است که درهای بهشت هشت است و آن اشارت است بهشت قوّت که در انسان است که ادراک محسوسات و موهومات و معقولات می نماید و آن حواس خمس ظاهر است و خیال و واهمه و عقل که چون آن هفت قوّت تابع عقل باشند هر آئنه از متشخص افعال حسنه در وجود آید که موجب حصول نعیم جنان گردد، پس آن هشت قوّت مشابه هشت در بهشت باشد، و خازن بهشت شخصی است که حواس او تابع عقل باشد و از او افعال سیه در وجود نیاید و پیوسته در کسب افعال حمیده و افعال حسنه باشد که بهشت آباد جاوید است،

در بیان جوی های بهشت، بدانکه جویهای بهشت چهار است جوی آب غیر متضرّ و جوی شیر و جوی خمر و جوی عسل مُصفّی چنانکه در قرآن شریف آمده که قوله تعالیٰ فِيهَا أَنْهَارٌ مِّن مَّاءٍ غَيْرِ آسِنٍ وَأَنْهَارٌ مِّن لَّبَنٍ لَّمْ يَتَغَيَّرْ طَعْمُهُ وَأَنْهَارٌ مِّنْ خَمْرٍ لَّذَّةٍ لِّلشَّارِبِينَ وَأَنْهَارٌ مِّنْ عَسَلٍ مُّصَفًّى[۱] یعنی در بهشت جویهای آبی که متضرّ نیست و جویهای شیر که متغیّر نیست طعم او و جوی خمر که لذّات میدهد شاربان را و جوی عسل مصفّیٰ، و جوی آب که فائده گرفتن از او عام است مر انسان و حیوان و نبات را یعنی اشارت است بدعوت ناطق که فهم معانی از شرائع و کلام ناطق او عام است اهل دعوت و

[۱] از آیه ۱۶ از سوره محمد (47)

ترتّب را که مرتبهٔ انسانی ست، واهلِ تضادّ را که مرتبهٔ حیوانی ست، وچون هر ناطقی را خصوصیت است بعضی آب تلخ می باشد وبعضی مضرّ وبعضی غیر مضرّ، وشرائع ناطقان نیز بعضی مرغوب است عوام را مثلِ وعدهای شدائد واحوالِ قیامت واجتناب از مهینان، وبعضی از آن مضرّ است بجهت ظاهریان چنانچه تکلیفاتِ شاقّه بمثلِ روزه ونماز وزکوٰة وحجّ وبعضی غیر مضرّ مثلِ امر بکسبِ اخلاقِ حمیده واظهار اسرار (ترجمه)

هرکه با امراست با پروردگار هرکه بی امراست بی پروردگار

وجوی شیر که فیض او خاصّ تر است از آب که نبات را مطلقات وبعضی حیوانات مثلِ طیور را از شیر نصیب نیست اشارت به بیان اسرار حجّت اعظم که متغیّر نیست طعم او، یعنی محتاجِ تأویل نیست ومخصوص است باهلِ دولت ودعوتِ خاص که تابعانِ امام زمان اند بحکم يَاأَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا أَطِيعُوا اللهَ وَأَطِيعُوا الرَّسُولَ وَأُولِي الْأَمْرِ مِنْكُمْ[1] وپیغمبر علیه السّلام فرموده اند که قال النبیّ علیه السّلام أَنَا مَدِينَةُ الْعِلْمِ وَعَلِيٌّ بَابُهَا که او بابِ اقدس است

وعسل که خاصّ تر از شیر که انتفاع از او مخصوص است بر انسان وبعضی حیوان به سبب استفادهٔ آدمیان است از بعض امراض اشارت است بتأویلات اساس که سببِ شفای بیماریِ تقلید وجهلِ مردم می گردد که مخصوص خواصّ دانایان است چنانچه از عسل بعضی گندمی باشد وبعضی متوسّط وبعضی مصفّیٰ میگردد، وتأویلات نیز بر سه قسم است، تأویل قصص که اوّل است، وتأویل محکمات که متوسّط است وتأویل متشابهات که متضمّنِ اسرار است

وجوی خمر که خاصّ تر است از عسل که مخصوص اهلِ ذوقِ نوع انسان است وسببِ اخلاص از اندوه وحزن می گردد اشارت است بتأیید امام که مخصوص ببعضی از اشخاص

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[1] از آیه ۶۲ از سورة النسآء (4)

انسان است، و سببِ فراغ از خوفِ دنیا و آخرت است، چنانچه خمر بر اهل دنیا رجس و حرام است و بر اهلِ بهشت حلال و پاک است بقولِ این آیت که قوله تعالیٰ "حُرِّمَتْ عَلَيْكُمُ الْمَيْتَةُ وَالدَّمُ وَلَحْمُ الْخِنْزِيرِ"[1] که مرتبۂ ناطق است، گاه نیز منقسم میشود که حرام است بر اهلِ تضاد، و گاه منقسم می شود که حلال می گردد بر اهلِ بهشت و وحدت که حجتان و داعیان و مأذونان و معلّمان و مستجیبان اند (نظم)

در مذهبِ ما باده حلال است ولیکن بی روی توای سروِ گل اندام حرام است

اما آمدیم به بیانِ صراط المستقیم و میزان و برزخ، بدانکه صراط پلی است بر روی دوزخ کشیده از موی باریکتر و از تیغ تیز تر هزار ساله راه سر بالا و هزار ساله راه برابر و هزار ساله راه سر بنشیب، بدانکه حساب عبارت است از حشر جمیع حسنات و سیئات است بدین معنی که قوله تعالیٰ "فَمَنْ يَعْمَلْ مِثْقَالَ ذَرَّةٍ خَيْرًا يَرَهُ وَمَنْ يَعْمَلْ مِثْقَالَ ذَرَّةٍ شَرًّا يَرَهُ"[2] و این همه بشناختِ امام زمان حاصل می شود و هر کس که بفرمودۂ "حَاسِبُوا أَنْفُسَكُمْ قَبْلَ أَنْ يُحَاسَبُوا" عمل نموده باشد پیوسته بمحاسبۂ افعال و اقوال خود مشغول بوده باشد از زمرۂ "يُحَاسَبُ حِسَابًا يَسِيرًا"[3] باشد که قوله تعالیٰ "وَالْوَزْنُ يَوْمَئِذٍ الْحَقُّ فَمَنْ ثَقُلَتْ مَوَازِينُهُ فَأُولَٰئِكَ هُمُ الْمُفْلِحُونَ وَمَنْ خَفَّتْ مَوَازِينُهُ فَأُولَٰئِكَ الَّذِينَ خَسِرُوا أَنْفُسَهُمْ"[4] یعنی وزن کردنِ اعمال در روزِ قیامت حق است، پس هر کس که گران باشد موازینِ اعمالِ نیکِ او پس او از مفلحان باشد و هر کسی که سبک باشد وزنِ اعمالِ نیکِ او او از زیان کاران زندگان است، و مراد از گرانیِ اعمال در موازینِ فعلِ چند است که نفسِ فاعل را سبب آن فعل نمی کند و اطمئنان حاصل شود، و از آن فعل در عیش و طرب و رضا در آید

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[1] از آیه ۱۱۶ از سورة النحل (16) [2] آیات ۷ و ۸ از سورة الزلزلة (99) [3] از آیه ۸ از سورة الانشقاق (84)
[4] آیات ۷ و ۸ از سورة الاعراف (7)

چنانچه در آیت آمده که فَأَمَّا مَنْ ثَقُلَتْ مَوَازِينُهُ فَهُوَ فِي عِيشَةٍ رَاضِيَةٍ[له]
و مراد از سنگ موازین اثر فعل چند است که نفس فاعل را سبب آن تحیّر و تتبّع هوا و هوس
حاصل گردد و از آن نفسِ فاعل بهاویه رسد چنانچه در آیت آمده که قوله تعالیٰ وَأَمَّا
مَنْ خَفَّتْ مَوَازِينُهُ فَأُمُّهُ هَاوِيَةٌ[له] و در شأن عیسیٰ علیه السلام بقرآن شریف
می آید که قوله تعالیٰ وَكَلِمَتُهُ أَلْقَاهَا إِلَىٰ مَرْيَمَ وَرُوحٌ مِّنْهُ[له] و عیسیٰ
علیه السلام بانجیل می گوید که أَنَا الْخُبْزُ الَّذِي نَزَلَ مِنَ السَّمَاءِ نیکان را از
گذشته باز گفتن مقصود نه افسانه است و مقصود آن است که در حال آینده باز بینند
که خدای تعالیٰ هستی را باکسی گذاشته است و اوست هستیِ عالم و آدم و عالم بی او
نیست پس عالم و آدم با او و بندگانِ او با او هستند و دنیا و اهل دنیا نیستند امّا در
قرآن شریف مثل دنیا و مثل امامانِ باطل که کافران و منافقان می پرستند که الدُّنیا
حرامٌ علَى أهلِ الآخرةِ والآخرةُ حرامٌ على أهلِ الدُّنيا وهُما حرامٌ
علَى أهلِ اللهِ تعالیٰ یعنی حرام گردانیدم دنیا را بر اهلِ آخرت و آخرت حرام گردانیدم
بر اهلِ دُنیا و دُنیا و آخرت حرام گردانیدم بر اهلِ الله (ترجمه)

جنت نروم تا رُخِ زیبات نه بینم — فردوس چه کار آید گر دوست نباشد

و دنیا را مثل بسراب زده اند چنانچه گفته شد (نظم)

به چه ماند جهان مگر بسراب — زیستی او تو چون روی بشتاب
همه گشتند خلق غرّه بد و — زانکه خورد و بزرگ کودک و شاب

و سراب نیستیِ حقائق است اما در او هم مردن است و می نماید که خدا شناسی و خدا
پرستی آن است که خود را و دانشِ خود را بکل الوجود از یاد باز برند و خود را و هستیِ خود را

له آیه ۵ از سورة القارعة (101) له آیه ۹ از همان سورة له از آیه ۱۶۹ از سورة النّسآء (4)

ازاو دانند وبخود نیست باشند تا معرفتِ شخصِ وحدت او عارف شوند، وآن شخص حجتِ خدای تعالیٰ باشد مولانا عزّوعلاذ در ہرزمانی اگرصد ہزارکس باہم متّفق الارادہ شوند کہ آن نہ وحدت باشد بلکہ عین اختلاف خود آن باشد باید کہ بندہای الٰہی واوامر ونواہی وابستہ باشی تا ناجی ورستگار باشی کہ قولہ تعالیٰ " لَا يَعْصُونَ اللّٰهَ مَا أَمَرَهُمْ وَيَفْعَلُونَ مَا يُؤْمَرُونَ [1] اگر دیو عاصی باشی درشریعت وطریقت خدا دیگراست و خداشناسی دیگر وخداپرستی دیگر، واین عالمیان بزبان نامی میگویند وآن خلق است جز خدا لاجرم آن نام راشناختہ اند نہ خدای را وخدای را بمردِ او نشناختہ اند، وآن نام را معنی درو ہم خود نہادہ اند لاجرم وہم خود راشناختہ اند نہ خدای را، ودر دعا ونماز رُو بسوی آسمان کنند یا خانہ لاجرم صاحب آن خانہ رانشناسند ازآن سبب کور مادرزاد اند کہ خدای تعالیٰ درشأنِ آنہا فرمود کہ قولہ تعالیٰ " صُمٌّ بُكْمٌ عُمْيٌ فَهُمْ لَا يَرْجِعُونَ [2] لاجرم آنجایگاہ رابخدا داشتہ باشند بقیامت وخدای رامعرفت نتوان دانست وبعلم می نشاید شناخت، بقیامت خود را وہیچ چیز رانمی باید شناخت کہ چون او را شناختی توخود ہیچ نباشی ہمہ او باشد، قربتی ازاین نزدیکتر بخدا نباشد، پس قائم وقیامت ومعرفت وخدا وعبادت ومعبود وعلم وثواب ہمہ یکی باشد ویکی است، بحکم نظر ہمہ یکسیر اند وہمہ چیز دلیل است برخدا وبحکم قیامت خود خدا دلیل است برخود آنجا نہ نظر است و نہ تعلیم آن راخود باو باید شناخت (ترجمہ)

بخودش کس شناخت نتوانست ذاتِ او ہم باو توان دانست

مقابلۂ شریعت وقیامت است نہ ازآن روئی کہ قیامت وشریعت زیراکہ ازآن روئی کہ قیامت وشریعت ہمہ قیامت است، واگر گویند مقابلہ ہمہ ہیچ باشد وخود مقابل

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[1] ازآیہ ۶ ازسورۃ التحریم (66) [2] ازآیہ ۱۷ ازسورۃ البقرۃ (2)

نباشد، واگر مقابل بودی هست بودی ومقابل هست نشاید که نصیب بی هست باشد
خداوند عالم مولانا علی لذکره السجود والتسبیح می فرماید که خلق حجاب خداست وخلقی حجاب
خدائی، وشریعت حجاب قیامت است (ترجمه)

ز دنیا تا بعقبی نیست بسیار ولی در ره وجود تست دیوار

همین خداشناسی وخداپرستی وخدادانی وخداخوانی که حجاب خداست هم قول وفعل محق که
بحقیقت حجاب محق است، عدل وفضل خدا هر دو هم حجاب خداست وخدائی، ما گفتیم یا خدای
وخدای می خواهیم نه یا چیز دیگر، مرا گویند به بهشت نمی گوئی ای سبحان الله، من می گویم تو
خداوند هر دو جهانی وخداوند بهشت و دوزخ باشی تا همه بخواست وحکم تو باشد، تو میگوئی مرا
می باید که یکی از بهشتیان باشم، یکی را گویند تو پادشاه همه جهان باش، گوید اگر مرا نگذارند
که رعیت باشم پادشاهی را نیز نمی خواهم، و هر که گوید چیزی میدانم یا نمیدانم می شناسم
یا نمی شناسم میخواهم یا نمیخواهم می پرستم یا نمی پرستم هستم یا نیستم همه از کثرت خود میگوید،
اگر میدانی همان است که نمیدانی، اگر نمیدانی همان است که میدانی، اگر باشی همان است که
نباشی، اگر نباشی همان است که باشی، ترا با خود با ینها چه کار، ترا خود با تو وغیر تو چه کار، اگر نگوئی
بوحدت درآئی و واحدی، این واو خود معنی ندارد، من و تو معنی ندارد، و تو این کس باشی
که خود اوست، پس این است وحدت و واحد چه از اندیشه وگفتار وکردار خود و از
خودی خود ساکن باز بودن شریعت وقیامت است، شریعت آن است که خود بخودی
هستی ونیستی، حرکت وساکن، دانائی ونادانی، گفتار ونگفتار، کردار ونکردار، وقیامت
آنکه خود در میان نباشد

پیغمبران واماماں نه بدان آمده اند که تا مردم را چیزی آموزند بلکه از برای آن آمده اند

تا مردم را هر چه آموخته اند بدان از فطرتی بیفتاده اند از یادشان باز ببرند و بفطرت اوّل برسانند حضرت بابا سیّدنا قدّس الله روحهٔ می فرماید که معرفت پیغمبر و امام فطرت است و بهشت که آدم از آنجا افتاد فطرت بود هم او فرماید چنانچه عرب را فطرتی ست که بخویشان حاجت نیست چنانچه پیغمبر علیه السّلام فرموده اند که من از عربم عرب از من نه چرا که نباید در دین مردمی باشد بر آن منظور و دیگران را از ایشان باید گرفت اینکه متکلم و فیلسوف میگویند سخن صناعی راه بخداشناسی نبرد که بنطفهٔ صناعی مردم را نشایستی کرد و پس چنانچه الّا از نطفه مردم نیاید الّا از سخن الٰهی فطرتی طبع و صورت و معاد نیاید و مولانا معدّ لذکره السّجود می فرماید که برهان آن است که يُصَحِّحُ العَقْلُ لِصِحَّةِ الصَّحِيح یعنی آن فطرت اوّل مولانا باقر لذکره السّجود والتسبیح فرماید که این نه سخن صناعی برهم بافته است در راه خدا چون برادر حقیقی بحسب نخست است که از سرّ فطرت راست بیایده است ز سخن متکلّمان است که در ایشان بهتر یابند هم باوّل شریعت و احکام بیاورد تا مردم از انعام و بهائم که حکایت طبعی کنند جدا شوند تا حکایت ایشان نفسانی شود و در درجهٔ انسانی درآیند پس از آن گویند مرتبهٔ دیگر است عقل است و محلّ صواب است تا حکایت آن عقلانی شود پس ابطال آن یکی از بهر کمال آن دیگری باشد مسیح گوید مَاجِئْتُ لِأُبْطِلَ تَوْرَاةَ وَلٰكِن لِأُكَمِّلَهَا

ولادت جسمانی در عالم تنزیل ولادت روحانی در عالم تأویل و اگر تنزیل که ظاهر و باطن است ندانند راه با معاد نبرند مسیح گوید مَنْ لَمْ يُولَدْ مَرَّتَيْنِ لَمْ يَبْلُغْ مَلَكُوتَ السَّمَاءِ اگر کسی همه کارهائی که انبیاء و نیکان فرموده اند بجای آورد و بر آن بیفزاید و انبیا و همهٔ اولیا و امامان گذشته را بداند و اعتقاد کند اما امام وقت را و خداوند زمان خویش را

نداند و نشناسد او را هیچ سود ندارد و مرگش مرگ جاهلان باشد و مرگ کسی باشد که بی پیغمبر مرده باشد و حال او با حال دیگر منافقان و مشرکان یکسان باشد خدا شناسی و پیغمبر شناسی و امام شناسی بهر وقت باز بسته آلهٔ است و فرمان آن فرمانِ خدای تعالیٰ است بحکمِ أَطِيعُوا اللَّهَ وَأَطِيعُوا الرَّسُولَ وَأُولِي الْأَمْرِ مِنكُمْ[1] و فرمانِ امامانِ گذشته حاصل ندارد و حضرت امام جعفر صادق می فرماید که قَالَ النَّبِي عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ اَبَاً عَن جَدٍّ وَنَسْلاً بَعْدَ نَسْلٍ یعنی گفت پیغمبر علیہ السلام که یکی از فرزندانِ من در میانِ اُمّتِ من قائم است و مدّتِ اعمار ایشان چنانچه اہل زمانہ را ممکن باشد و ہرگز نباشد کہ ہیچ کس را با ایشان راہ نباشد بلکہ در ہر روزگاری چند شخص خاص آن قائم وقت را بشناسند و دانند و مردم را راہ نمائی کنند بحکمِ وَ كُلَّ شَيْءٍ أَحْصَيْنَاهُ فِي إِمَامٍ مُّبِينٍ[2] و بحکم كُلُّ شَيْءٍ هَالِكٌ إِلَّا وَجْهَهُ[3] و بقولِ این آیت کریمہ کہ قولہ تعالیٰ يَدُ اللَّهِ فَوْقَ أَيْدِيهِمْ[4] آن دست یداللہ است ترجمہ

يد الله فوق ايديهم از آن آمد بشأنِ او — کہ بالاتر ز دستِ او نباشد دستِ کس اصلا

و از امام زین العابدین نقل است کہ فرمودہ اند کہ مَعْرِفَةُ اللَّهِ مَعْرِفَةُ إِمَامِ زَمَانِهِمِ الَّذِي مَحَبَّتُهُ عَلَيْهِم طَاعَةٌ یعنی معرفتِ خدای تعالیٰ معرفتِ امامِ زمان است و اہل آن زمان را کہ طاعتِ او بر ایشان واجب است در ہر روزگاری کہ باشد قولہ تعالیٰ وَمِنْ عِندِ اللَّهِ تعالیٰ یعنی در ہر روزگاری کہ باشد معرفتِ او بر بندگان خدای تعالیٰ واجب و لازم باشد تا مادامیکہ آسمان و زمین باشد و پیش از دورِ حضرت محمد مصطفی صلّی اللہ علیہ و آلہٖ و سلّم نشاید کہ امام نبودہ باشد بلکہ

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[1] از آیه ۶۲ از سورة النّساء (4) [2] از آیه ۱۱ از سورة یٰس (36) [3] از آیه ۸۸ از سورة القصص (28)
[4] از آیه ۱۰ از سورة الفتح (48)

ازاین عالم بچندین ہزار قرن عالم وآدم بوده است وہست وخواہد بودن پس دانستن او واجب آن است کہ بدانند کہ امام از دورِ عالم تا آدمؑ از آدمؑ تا خاتمؐ از خاتمؐ تا این دم ہمیشہ ہست وبود وباشد تا انقراضِ عالم، وطاعتِ او طاعتِ خدای تعالی ست وواجب است بر ہمۂ بندگان، ودر قرآن شریف می آید کہ قولہ تعالی عزّ من قال: وَمَا خَلَقْتُ الْجِنَّ وَالْإِنْسَ إِلَّا لِيَعْبُدُونَ[1] وأن يعرفونني[2] يعنی گفت خدای تعالی کہ نیافریدم پری وآدمی را الّا برای آنکہ مرا بشناسند وبپرستند پس پرستیدن موقوف بشناختن وشناختنِ خدای تعالی اشکل ترین ہمۂ چیزہاست، حق واولی بود کہ بتعلیم احتیاج داشتہ باشد، ورسول علیہ السّلام فرموده اند کہ بندگان ومؤمنان بدانند وبشناسند وبشناخت کار کنند تا فردای قیامت خجل وشرمسار نمانند، مانمودیم راه خیر ونجات، ختم بر نبی وآل صلوات

الحمدُ للہِ ربِّ العالمین وحمد الشاکرین والصّلوات والسّلام علی رسولہ النّبیّ الأمین وعلیٰ آلہ الطّیّبین والطّاہرین والأئمّۃِ الصّادقین مولانا ہمۂ بندگان خودرا توفیقِ دین داری کرامت کناد واین بندۂ کمترین بندگانِ دعوتِ ہادیۂ مہدیہ ثبّتہا اللہ فی مشارق الأرض ومغاربہا را بعنایتِ ازلی وہدایتِ لم یزلی منظورِ نظرِ خود کناد، ودل وزبانِ او وجملۂ بندگان را از ناشایست در کردار وگفتار نگاه دارد، واورا بوسیلۂ سلسلۂ طیّبین کہ سر از طاعتِ حجّتِ بزرگوارِ او کہ واسطہ ووسیلۂ ہمۂ سعاداتہاست نہ پیچند بقولِ این آیتِ کریمہ کہ قولہ تعالیٰ: يَوْمَ يَقُومُ الرُّوحُ وَالْمَلَائِكَةُ صَفًّا لَا يَتَكَلَّمُونَ إِلَّا مَنْ أَذِنَ لَهُ الرَّحْمَٰنُ وَقَالَ صَوَابًا[3]

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[1] از آیہ ۵۶ از سورۃ الذّاریات (51) [2] این الفاظ در قرآن نیست [3] آیہ ۳۸ از سورۃ النّبا (78)

مولانا راه نجات بخشاد و در رحمت خود بر عالم و عالمیان گشاده گرداناد و بشاه راه صراط المستقیم خود ثابت قدم گرداناد انّه خیر الموفّق المعین بفضله ورحمته یا ارحم الرّاحمین

تمّت الکتاب هفت باب حضرت سلطان العارفین وقطب المحقّقین حجّة القائم و الدّائم ابو معین امیر امیران سرور مردان سلطان شاه ناصر خسرو قدّس سرّه العزیز بعون الملک الوهاب فی تاریخ چهاردهم شهر شوّال فی یوم شنبه ۱۲۰۷ سنه بود که این نسخه ادا یافت والتماس بکرم مخادم روزگار و محققان دین که چون بنظر مطالعه اشرف مشرّف فرمایند سهوی ونسیانی چنانچه از لطف ایشان سزد آن را بکرم فیاض اصلاح فرمایند والله اعلم بالصّواب

تمّ

منتشر به آصف علی اصغر فیضی بیرستر سکرتری اسلامی ریسرچ ایسوسی ایشن
۴۳ چوپاتی روڈ بمبئی
در مطبعهٔ مظفری نمره ۱۴ میرزا علی استریت عمرکهاری بمبئی پُشت نمره ۹ طبع گردید
باهتمام آقا میرزا کریم شیرازی

رقمه محمد حبیب الله ذکی "محبوب قم" در سنه ۱۳۵۲ھ

P. 75, line 13: for نمیدانست read میدانست

,, 76, ,, 6: ,, اقرار گرفت ,, قرار گرفت

,, ,, ,, 17: ,, کسانی ,, کسان

,, 82, lines 17–19: for variants see Translation, p. 77, footnote 2.

,, 92, line 12: for شخصی مردی read شخص مردی

,, 95, footnote: for ۳۳ read ۲۳

,, 98, line 7: after قوله تعالی insert قل

,, 99, ,, 18: ,, من العرش ,, مرحبا

,, 106, ,, 11: for ملک ملکوت read ملک و ملکوت

,, ,, , 11 (end): for مبدأ read مبدع

,, ,, ,, 13: for طمع read نمدع

,, 108, ,, 9: ,, مشخص read شخصی

,, ,, , 16: , آبی ,, آبی ست

,, ,, ,, 17: .. لذات , ادت

,, 109, ,, 4: ,, مهمنان ,, منبهات

,, 111, ,, 18: , اما در او هم مردن ,, اما در وهم مردم

Translation, p. 16, footnote 1, second line: instead of *Hasan b. 'Alî* read *Zaynu'l-'âbidîn.*

Translation, p. 22 (line 28) and p. 25 (line last but one, and footnote 1): for *'Abdu'l-Manâf* read *'Abd Manâf.*

P. 11, line 4: for حیّ read هیّا
,, ,, ,, 6: ,, بخط ,, بحفظ
,, 22, ,, 6: ,, لمعه ,, لمحه
,, 26, ,, 3: ,, لمعه ,, لمحه
,, 32, ,, 2: ,, بتابد ,, نتابد
,, ,, ,, 3: ,, می تابد ,, نمی تابد
,, ,, ,, 15: after السماء insert a reference to footnote (1)
,, 35, ,, 11: in الصدقةً cancel the *tanwîn*.
,, 41, footnote, last line: for XXXVI, 11 read IV, 62.
,, 45, line 8: for آسائش read آزمائش
,, 46, ,, 13: ,, قبول ,, قول
,, 47, ,, 2: ,, بعلم ,, معلم
,, 48, ,, 2: ,, لمعه ,, لمحه
,, 51, ,, 1, beginning, read: و مولانا مستنصر مولانا نزار را
,, ,, ,, 9, after Mu'min-Shâh insert: و مولانا قاسم شاه
,, 53, ,, 15: for موالید read بالیدن
,, 56, ,, 17: ,, چنانکه در حال ,, چنانکه کسی در حال
,, ,, ,, -18: ,, ننهد، اگر read ننهد، ومی باید اگر
,, 58, ,, 4: ,, خطاست ,, خطائیست
,, 63, ,, 14: ,, نفحه ,, نفخه
,, ,, ,, 18: ,, باز سر شد ,, با سری شد
,, 66, ,, 2: ,, و أدرکه باسماء و صفاته read
و من أدرکه باسمائه و صفاته هو
,, 68, ,, 7: ,, متصرفان read از متصرفان

Verses of the Coran quoted wrongly.

Expressions wrongly treated as verses of the Coran.

VI

Ḥadîths quoted in the text.

V

QUOTATIONS FROM THE CORAN.

527–564. xliv fn, xlvi fn ; Tr. 60 fn, 71 fn.

Massignon, L., "Salman Pak", Societé des Études Iraniennes, 7 : 1934. Tr. 20 fn.

Semenov, A. A., "Description of the Ismaili MSS collected by A. A. Semenov", Bulletin of the Russian Academy of Sciences, 1918, pp. 2171–2202. xii and fn, xvi fn, xvii fn, xxi fn, xlix and fn.
Semenov, A. A., *Qaṣida'i Dhurriyya*, edited by — ("Iran", 1928) xxxix fn.

Wensinck, A. J., "The Muslim Creed", 1932. xxxi fn, xxxiv, xxxvi fn, xlviii fn ; Tr. 1 fn, 7 fn, 9 fn, 53 fn.

IV

Technical Terms.

III

BOOKS QUOTED OR REFERRED TO.

II

Geographical and Ethnical Names.

INDEXES

Important : 1. Each name or term is entered in these indexes *only once*, even if it occurs several times on one and the same page.

2. The *Arabic figures* in the Indexes refer to the pages in the Persian *text*. The corresponding pages are given *in heavy type* in the Translation.

3. *Roman* figures refer to the pages of the Introduction.

4. Figures following the abbreviation "Tr." refer to the pages of the Translation (*not to those marked in heavy type*).

5. Figures following the abbreviation "Ap." refer to the pages of the *Appendix*.

6. Footnotes (abbreviated as "fn.") are referred to without any number, even when there are several on one page.

7. Expressions such as Abû, Bû, ibn, b., al- of the Arabic definite article, and the *iḍâfat* are disregarded in the alphabetical arrangement.

I

Names of Persons.

knows (this) must offer glorifications and thanks to him. He is exalted beyond this in a great degree. And he . . . to his time (?), he is by his nature one who knows".

Then he, the Imam, uttered the sermon which begins with : " It is said : and in what consists the *Qiyâmat* ? O lord of . . . (?) ". After this he read a copy of the epistle which begins with : " We are present and we exist ". Then he delivered his first sermon (*khuṭba*). Then he sat for a while, and then rose, and delivered his second *khuṭba*. After this *faqîh* Muḥammad Bustî stood up on his chair (*kursî*), turning his face towards the *minbar*, and read aloud the whole of the *khuṭba* and the Great Epistle, explaining them. And the Lord also remained standing until the reading was finished. Then he descended from the *minbar*, and recited two *rik'ats* of prayer, as appropriate on a holiday.

On that day, to the end of it, people exchanged congratulations, feasting and rejoicing to the utmost. Restrictions and prohibitions of the *sharî'at* were lifted from them. And on that day he ordered that in Mu'minâbâd of Quhistân and everywhere there should be a holiday.

And we, with the help of Mawlâ-nâ the *Qâ'im* of the *Qiyâmat* will write some chapters on the date (or history) of the Great *Qiyâmat*, which was predicted by prophets and saints, and of which glad tidings and prophecies were given by them. We will give an account of the blessed sermon (*khuṭba*), together with a translation and an explanation of it, in the best way that this humble slave of the guiding *da'wat* knows. All this will be included in those chapters, if God pleases. O Mawlâ-nâ !

سید السند (؟)، و بعد ازان نسخهٔ نامهٔ که اولش این است نحن الحاضرون
الموجودون بخواند،[1] و دیگر خطبهٔ اول بخواند، لحظهٔ بنشست و برخاست
و خطبهٔ دوم بخواند و بعد ازان محمد فقیه بسدی روی بمنبر بر سر کرسی
بایستاد و بشرح (؟) آن[2] خطبه و نامهٔ بزرگ واز بخواند بتمامت، و خداوند
همچنان ایستاده بود تا تمام خوانده شد، پس از منبر فرود آمد و برسم عید
دو رکعت نماز بگذارد، و آن روز همه روز بشارت زدند و عیدی و خرمی کردند،
و بند و اغلال شریعت از گردن بندگان بر گرفتند، و همان روز فرموده بودند که
در مؤمناباد [p. 79] قهستان و در همه جا عید کردند،[3] و ما بتوفیق مولانا
قائم القیامة فصلی چند در باب تاریخ قیامت قیامات که اهل انبیا و دیانت (!)
تعیین کرده اند و آنکه همه بشارت بآن[4] داده اند و اشارت بآن[4] کرده اند خواهیم
نوشت، و ذکر خطبهٔ مبارک و ترجمهٔ آن[4] و بیان آن[4] بر وجهی که کمترین
بندگان دعوت هادیه را معلوم باشد هم دران فصول آورده شود ان شاء الله،
مولانا،

(The original text differs very slightly from the version given in the pseudo-HBAI, and the translation given in the note 4 on p. 60 needs only a few alterations. Instead of the apparently later *murîdân*, which is a Sufic term, the original gives *rafîqân*, —" comrades, friends ". The name of Barda', which is rather illegible in the HBAI, is to be read *barâbar*, i.e. " opposite ". Instead of *ba-âhastagî-yi har chi tamâm-tar* the original gives *ba-âhangî*, i.e. " in accord with perfect manner ". The text begins to differ very much after the passage containing the beginning of the address of the Imam. It is translated here in full).

Translation :

. . . He said in a loud voice : " O ye, inhabitants of the world, Jinns, men and angels ! Know that Mawlâ-nâ *Qâ'im* of the *Qiyâmat*,—prostration and glorification be to him on his mention !—is the Lord of (all) things created, the Absolute Existence ; he is, in every way, beyond all negation of his existence, because he is more exalted than anything that sinners can associate with Him. He opened the gate of his mercy, making all alive by his generosity. Every one who

[1] From here to the sentence " *wa mâ ba-tawfîqi Mawlâ-nâ . . .* " the text is omitted in the KP, and in the pseudo-HBAI.

[2] Again *û* for *ân*.

[3] From here the text again agrees, on the whole, with the KP, see p. 66, line 9.

[4] In all cases *û* instead of *ân*.

APPENDIX

The text and the translation of the passage which is found in the original version of the *Haft-bâbi* Abû Isḥâq, but is omitted in the *Kalâmi Pîr* (cf. note 4 on p. 60 of the Translation, and pp. xxii and lxvii in the Introduction).

[p. 76] روز هفدهم ماه رمضان سنهٔ تسع و خمسین و خمسمائه به طالع
سنبله و آفتاب بسرطان بفرمود که در میدان الموت منبر بنهادند روی در جانب
مغرب و چهار علم بر چهار گوشهٔ منبر برپای کردند، و رفیقان [1] خراسان بر دست
راست منبر و رفیقان عراق (عجم) [2] بر دست چپ منبر، و دیلمیان [3] و رفیقان
رودبار برابر (بایستادند)، و بر میان کرسی بنهادند روی [4] در منبر، و فقیه
محمد بستی را [p. 77] بفرمود که بران کرسی میدان رفت، و خداوند علی
ذکره السلام جامهٔ سفید پوشیده و عمامهٔ سفید نزدیک نصف نهار از قلعه فرود
آمد و از دست راست منبر در آمد و بآهنگی [5] هرچه تمام تر بر سر منبر
شد، و سه بار سلام کرد، اول بر دیلمیان و دیگر بر دست راست و دیگر بر دست
چپ، و لحظهٔ بر سر پای بنشست و باز بر خاست و شمشیر حمائل کرده بآواز
بلند گفت، الا ای اهل العالمین از جن و انس و ملائکه بدانید [6] که مولانا
قائم القیامة لذکره السجود و التسبیح خداوند موجودات (است) آن [7]
خداوندی که اوست وجود مطلق، اوست از همه روی (از) نفی وجود خود
بیرون، ازان (که) تعالی عما یشرک به الظالمون [8] بر گشاد در رحمت خویش
و همه را زنده گردانید بجود خویش، حمد و شکر او واجب است بر هر دانندهٔ،
و تعالی [p. 78] عن ذلک علواً کبیراً و هو ... (؟) [9] الی مدته و العارف بذاته،
بعد ازان فرمود آن [10] عبارتی که اولش این است، ذکر و فی ما القیمة (یا)

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[1] In the pseudo-HBAI is given *murîdân*.

[2] So in the pseudo-HBAI.

[3] In the original text is given here (and three lines further on)—*Daylamân*, which is an obvious mistake.

[4] In the pseudo-HBAI—*rû-ba-rûyi minbar*.

[5] In the pseudo-HBAI—*âhastagî*.

[6] From here the text in the pseudo-HBAI is different. The text here agrees with the KP, p. 66, line 3, but there are many variants.

[7] Instead of *ân* in the original is given *û*.

[8] This Arabic sentence is not found either in the KP or the pseudo-HBAI.

[9] In the original text there is no interruption here, but an omission seems to be quite obvious. Cf. p. 66, l. 7 of the text.

[10] Instead of *ân* here is *û*.

verse of the Coran (LXXVIII, 38): "The day when the Spirit and the angels shall stand in ranks, they shall not speak save to whom the Merciful permits, and who speaks aright". [117] May He make us sure-footed on His "straight path",—"Verily, He is the best of all helpers and assistants, by His bounty and mercy,—O the Most Merciful of all the merciful!"

This is the end of the book, called "Seven Chapters" (*Haft Bâb*), by the King of the wise-men, and the head of those who search for the Truth, the proof (*ḥujjat*) of the *Qâ'im*, the Eternal,—Abû Mu'în, the *amîr* of *amîrs*, the leader of men, *Sulṭân Shâh* Nâṣiri Khusraw,—may God sanctify his sacred spirit!

Finished with the help of God, the Nourisher, on the 14th of the month of Shawwâl, Saturday, of the year 1207 (i.e. Saturday, the 25th May, 1793). It was on that day that this copy was completed.[1] The copyist prays those who serve the religion of the time, and who search after the true faith, to be so kind as to correct any mistakes and omissions, if such there be, when being gracious enough to read this book. But God knows best!

[1] Strangely, there is no mention of the name of the copyist, and of the place of copying, while both are usually given in every copy.

END.

It is related from Imam Zaynu'l-'âbidîn: "Recognition (*ma'rifat*) of God is recognition of the Imam of the time, devotion to whom is as obligatory to everybody as obedience to God". It is said: "And (he is) from God the Allhighest". Thus recognition and obedience to him is obligatory and incumbent upon the slaves of God, so long as the sky and the earth last.

It is impossible to think that there could not have been an Imam before Muhammad the Chosen. **[116]** In reality for many thousand centuries before this world and people (were created) he was, he is at present, and will (always) be. After recognition of the Imam one must also know that there always was an Imam from the time of the creation of the world to the creation of Adam, from Adam to the last Prophet, from the Last Prophet to this moment; that he always is, and will be, to the end of the world. Obedience to him is the same as obedience to God,—it is obligatory to all slaves of God. It is said in the Coran (LI, 56): "And I have not created the *Jinn* and mankind save that they may worship Me",—"and know Me".[1] Therefore worshipping God is bound with recognizing Him, and knowing God is the most difficult thing. The proper (*haqq*) and the first available way is that one may need (somebody else's) instruction (*ta'lîm*). The Prophet said that slaves of God and the faithful should know and recognize Him, and should act in accordance with their knowledge of Him, so that "to-morrow on the Day of Resurrection" they would not feel ashamed and disgraced.

We have explained the right way leading towards salvation,—now we may finish this, invoking blessings upon the Prophet and his Successors.

Praise be to God, the Lord of the worlds, the praise of those who offer thanks to Him; and prayers and blessings be on His Apostle, the trusted, and on all Good and Pure, and on the truthful Imams. May Mawlâ-nâ give his gracious help to all the faithful so that they are pious, and may He bless this humblest of all the slaves of the guiding and rightly guided *da'wat*,—may God establish it in the Eastern parts of the earth as well as in the Western,—(help him) with His eternal help and unending guidance! May He keep the heart and the tongue of this His slave, and of all the slaves of God, from things improper, either in thinking or in speaking! May He open the door of His bounty to the world and its inhabitants, and may He grant his guidance to the path of salvation to this humble slave, through his connection with the line of the good and pure Imams, whose great *hujjat*,—the means and the source of all blessings,—no one can disobey, in accordance with the

[1] The last words are not found in the Coran.

perfect one. The Messiah said: "I came not to reject the Torah, but to perfect it".[1]

Physical birth takes place in the world of *tanzîl*, or of the Divine revelation which is intended for everybody. Spiritual birth takes place in the world of *ta'wîl*, or the revelation of the hidden meaning of the religion. *Tanzîl* itself consists both of the outward and of the hidden meaning, but usually the people disregard this fact, and thus they do not attain salvation (*ma'âd*). The Messiah said: "One who is not born twice will never attain the kingdom of heavens".[2] If anyone performs all good deeds which are ordered by prophets and saints, *nîkân*, and even if he does more than this, if he recognizes all prophets, saints, and Imams of the past, and believes in them,—all this will be of no use for him, and he will die as a heathen unless and until he recognizes the Imam and the Lord of his own time: **[115]** otherwise he will die as one who never believed in the Prophet, and his position will be the same as that of idolaters and renegades (*mushrikân wa munâfiqân*). Knowledge of God, of the Prophet, and of the Imam, all are connected by God with the "Man of the time" (*Mardi waqt*, i.e. Imam). His command is the command of God the Allhighest, as is said in the Coran (IV, 62): "Obey God, and obey the Apostle, and those in authority amongst you". The command of the Imams of the past makes no difference (*ḥâṣil na-dârad*).

Mawlâ-nâ Ja'far Ṣâdiq relates in the *ḥadîth*: "By father from grand-father, one descending from the other ..., that the Prophet said: one of my (direct) descendants is (always) standing by (*qâ'im*) in my community"; the duration of lives of such lieutenants are the same as those of ordinary people. They will never remain inaccessible to anybody, but in every period there will be (at least) some chosen ones who will know and see the *Qâ'im*, and lead other people to him,[3] as is said in the Coran (XXXVI, 11): "And everything We have included in the obvious Imâm". And also (Cor. XXVIII, 88): "Everything perishes save for His face". And also in accordance with this verse (XLVIII, 10): "God's hand is above their hands". It is he (the Imam) who is referred to here.

The verse "God's hand is above their hands" was revealed with regard to him, because
Nobody's hand ever is higher than his hand.[4]

---

1 St. Matthew, V, 17: "Think not that I am come to destroy the law and the prophets: I am not come to destroy but to fulfil".

2 St. John, III, 3: "Except a man be born again, he cannot see the Kingdom of God".

3 Cf. above, p. 42 (p. 50 of the text).

4 The same *bayt* is quoted above, on p. 91 (text).

your own *personal* (conscious) being or not-being, moving or not-moving, knowing or not-knowing, speaking or not-speaking, acting or not-acting, while *qiyâmat* means that the "self" disappears.[1]

Prophets and Imams do not come for the purpose of teaching people something new. No, they come for the purpose **[114]** of clearing away from their memory all those things which they, the people, have learnt, which caused them to fall away from their original natural religion (*fiṭrat*), and thus bring them back to this their *fiṭrat*. Bâbâ Sayyid-nâ,—may God sanctify his spirit!—says that higher knowledge, the Prophet, and the Imam, all constitute the *fiṭrat*; and the Paradise from which Adam fell was also the *fiṭrat*.

The same Bâbâ Sayyid-nâ says: the natural religion (*fiṭrat*) of Arabs is such that they do not care about their relatives (?).[2] Thus the Prophet said: "I belong to the Arab nation, but (all) Arabs do not belong to me", because in matters of religion nationality is of no importance, and the faithful may be recruited from any nation.

What learned theologians and philosophers tell in their highly artificial speculations, does not bring one to knowing God,—can a child be born from artificial sperm? So, just as man can be born only from natural human sperm, so the human character, spiritual nature, and his salvation (*ṭab' wa ṣûrat wa ma'âd*) can only be derived from the original (*fiṭratî*) speech of God. Mawlâ-nâ Ma'add (prostration be due at his mention),[3] says that this may be proved by the *ḥadîth* (?): "Reason corrects (the matter) in order that the correct should be (really) correct", i.e. as the original *fiṭrat*. Mawlâ-nâ Bâqir,—prostration and glorification be at his mention!—says: "In the way of God there is no room for artificial constructions or sophisticated theorizing. When a brother in truth is initiated, joining the religion by the mystery of predestination (*fiṭrat*), the talk of learned theologians is not the best thing for him. It is necessary to bring people first to obedience, to *sharî'at* and its prescriptions (*aḥkâm*), so that people may rise from the state of beasts, who go by their primitive ways. They should begin to feel as human beings (*nafsânî*), and then actually become real human beings". It is said that after this there is a still higher degree, that of reason, and the possibility (*maḥall*) of righteousness (*ṣawâb*), which the people have to attain in order to become reasonable (*'aqlânî*) beings. Thus one degree is superseded by another, a more

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[1] All these speculations seem to be purely Sufic in their character, and do not tally well with the general tendency of Ismailism.

[2] So also in the HB Abû Isḥâq. Apparently this is a primitive explanation of the catholic tendencies of Islam.

[3] Perhaps the name should be read *Mu'izz*?

The relation between *sharî'at* and *qiyâmat* is that their sequence cannot be reversed, and *sharî'at* cannot follow *qiyâmat*, because it would anyhow remain the same *qiyâmat*. It is not true that the difference between these two is negligible, and that *qiyâmat* does not differ (from *sharî'at*), **[113]** because if it would really be opposed to it, it would be existence, and the opposite of existence cannot also belong to existence.[1] The Lord of the world, Mawlâ-nâ,—at whose mention be prostration and glorification!—says about this, that creation is a "veil" of its Creator, and the state of creation is a "veil" of Divinity. Similarly, *sharî'at* is a "veil" of *qiyâmat*.

> There is no great distance between this world and that,
> But on the road there there is a wall which is thy own existence.

Thus, recognizing God, worshipping God, knowing God, invoking God,—all form "veils" of God. And even the word and the action of the True Man (*Muḥiqq*) is in reality his "veil". Justice and bounty of God are His "veils",—the "veils" of Divinity. If we say: "O God", we invoke God, not anything else. Some people ask me: "Thou dost say in Paradise: O glory be to God." But I say: "Thou art the Lord of both worlds, the Lord of Paradise and of Hell, everything is by Thy will and command!" Thou sayest: "I want to become one of the inhabitants of Paradise". They say to someone: "Be the king of the whole world". He replies: "If I am not permitted to be a subject, I do not want to be a king".

Every one who says: I know, or I do not know: or I recognize, or I do not recognize; or I want or I do not want; I worship, or I do not worship: I am, or I am not,—all this he says with regard to his belonging to a world of plurality (*kathrat*). If thou knowest something, it is the same in reality as thou dost not know it. And if thou dost not know, it is the same as if thou knowest. If thou existest, it is the same as if thou dost not exist, and if thou dost not exist, it is the same as if thou art existent. What hast thou to do with all these? What hast thou to do with thyself and with what is other than thyself? If thou dost not think in this way, thou wilt attain the state of a true Believer, of one who believes in the unity of God (*waḥdat* and *wâḥid*). The expressions "this" and "that" have no meaning by themselves. Similarly "I" and "thou" also are meaningless. *Thou* art the same person as *he*. This is the meaning of *waḥdat* and of *wâḥid*, i.e. of unity and unitarianism. Resignation from thinking, speaking, acting, from one's self is both *sharî'at* and *qiyâmat*. But *sharî'at* is

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[1] This paragraph is omitted in the HB Abû Isḥâq.

of God, and knowledge of God consist in completely (*li-kulli'l-wujûd*) taking away from one's mind the concentration on himself. and his self consciousness, cultivating instead of these the knowledge that one exists **[112]** only through Him, and that (in reality) is nothing by himself. In this way one can attain the recognition (*ma'rifat*) of the person who is united with Him (*Shakhṣi waḥdat*). Such a person is the proof (*ḥujjat*) of God the Most High,—Mawlâ-nâ, exalted and extolled be He!

If at any time even a hundred thousand people form an agreement amongst themselves, this will not be a unity: no, it will be difference itself. It is necessary that they must be united by the ties imposed by God, by His commands and prohibitions. Only by this they may attain salvation and the peace of the soul. It is said in the Coran (LXVI, 6): "They disobey not God in what He bids them, but they do what they are bidden". If thou be a rebelling *dîw*, or devil, the door of *sharî'at*, or of *ṭarîqat* of God is different for thee, just as the ways of knowing God, or of worshipping Him are different.

The people of this visible world merely pronounce with their tongues the name of God, which is also a creation. They thus know only the name, not God Himself, because they do not know God through the Man of God. By their imagination, they have invented an idea for this name. Thus, obviously, they recognize their own fiction, not God. In their prayers and invocations they turn their faces towards the sky, or towards a house, but they obviously do not know the master of that house; they are simply blind from their birth. It is about them that God says (Cor. II, 17): "Deaf, dumb, blind, and they shall not turn away",—thus they undoubtedly will be sent to that place (i.e. Hell) on the day of Resurrection. One cannot know God by (ordinary) ways of recognition, nor by (ordinary) knowledge. On the day of Resurrection one must not be conscious of himself or of anything. If you recognize Him, you will be nothing in your eyes, because He is everything. There is no closer degree of approaching Him than by regarding one's self as nonexistent. Therefore the *Qâ'im*, the Resurrection, the recognition, God, worship, the object of worship, knowledge, reward, etc.,—will all be one and the same thing, and it (really) *is* one and the same thing. We can see by intuition (*ba-ḥukmi naẓar*) that all these things are similar to one another, and that all things (generally) are proofs of God's existence. And by the enlightenment of the Resurrection (*Qiyâmat*),—God Himself becomes His own proof. Then there will be no "seeing" (*naẓar*), or intuition, and no instruction from others (*ta'lîm*),—He must be recognized by Himself, directly.

No man will recognize Him by his own effort,—
His Substance can only be known through Himself.

balance of human acts, is varied. If the cause of the action is not the carnal self, contentment is derived from it, and one who acts in this way derives from it the feeling of pleasure, joy, and contentment, **[111]** as is said in the Coran (CI, 5): " And as for him whose balance is heavy, he shall be in a well-pleasing life ". The meaning of the weights which weight down (the opposite side of) the scale, are the influence (*athar*) of actions which cause confusion, such as acts of lust and passion, in the soul of man. Through these, one who acts falls into the deepest part of Hell (*hâwiya*), as is said in the Coran (CI, 6): " But as for him whose balance is light his dwelling shall be the pit of Hell ".[1]

It is said about Jesus in the Coran (IV, 169): " His Word which He cast into Mary and a spirit from Him ". And Jesus says in the Injîl: " I am the Good that was sent from the heaven ".[2]

The purpose of those who are good is not to tell stories about what happens. Their purpose is to foresee what is going to happen in the future. God has given everyone life. He is the origin of life of the world and of man,—the world cannot exist without Him. Therefore, the world and man exist with Him, and His slaves exist with Him, while this visible world, and those who depend only on it, do not really exist. In the Coran (?)[3] this visible world is compared with the false Imams, who are worshipped by the *kâfirs* and by the deceivers (*munâfiq*): " This world is forbidden to those who belong to the next world; and the next world is forbidden to those who belong to this; and both these are forbidden to the people who belong to God ".[4]

> I will not go to Paradise until I behold Thy beautiful face,—
> Of what use is Paradise if the Beloved is not in it ?[5]

This visible world is compared with a mirage, as is said :—

> What does resemble this world, if not a mirage ?
> Only He exists—why dost thou run after the unreal ?
> All people are deceived by it.—
> Big and small, child and adult.

Mirage means in reality non-existence (*nistî-yi ḥaqîqi*); it exists only in human imagination. It appears that (real) worship

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1 Here the quotation and the paraphrase of the 31st *Ṣaḥîfa* ends. As the subject is suddenly changed without any apparent division in the text, we may think that it is mutilated, and something is omitted here.

2 It is difficult to guess what verse of the New Testament is intended here.

3 This is obviously to be read : *ḥadîth*.

4 Cf. the 16th *Ṣaḥîfa*, in which the same *ḥadîth* is quoted.

5 The same *bayt* is quoted on p. 71 (text).

tions of religion,—the middle way; and interpretation of the similes which imply mysteries.

The river of wine is intended for a still smaller number of users than that of honey, just as wine is confined to the taste of human beings only. It gives relief from sorrow and sadness. It is a symbol of the *ta'yîd*, or Divine inspiration from the Imam, which is accessible only to a few men, **[110]** giving them relief from the fear of this world and the next. Wine is impure and forbidden to the people of this world, but permitted and pure to the people of Paradise, as is said in the Coran (XVI, 116): " He has forbidden you that which dies of itself, and blood, and the flesh of swine ". (This prohibition) belongs to the teaching of the *Nâṭiq*. Sometimes there is no difference for anybody, and it is forbidden even to the enemies of religion, *ahli taḍâdd*. Sometimes, however, there is a difference, and it is lawful to the inhabitants of Paradise and the people of union (*ahli waḥdat*),[1] i.e. *ḥujjats, dâ'is, ma'dhûns, mu'allims*, and *mustajîbs*.

In our religion wine is permitted, but
It is forbidden to drink it without seeing thy face,
O cypress, with the blossom like body.

On the " Straight Path " (*Ṣirâṭu'l-mustaqîm*), on the Balance, and the period of time between death and Judgment.

Know that the *Ṣirâṭ* is a bridge over Hell. It is thinner than a hair, sharper than the edge of a sword;[2] it is the road of ascent for a thousand years of marching, of one thousand years of level road, and one thousand years of descent. Know also that the expression " counting ", *ḥisâb*, means the gathering of all one's good and bad actions,[3] as is said in the Coran (XCIX, 7-8): " And he who does the weight of an atom of good shall see it; and he who does the weight of an atom of evil shall see it ". All this is attained through recognizing the Imam of the time. And[4] one who acts in accordance with the command: " Take an account of yourselves before others take it ",—such people will always be busy with meditating over what they do or what they say. They will be of those about whom it is said in the Coran (LXXXIV, 8): " He shall be reckoned with by an easy reckoning ", because, as is said also in the Coran (VII, 7-8): " The balance on that day is true, and whosesoever scales are heavy, they are prosperous; but whosesoever scales are light, they it is who lose themselves ". The meaning of heaviness of actions, when weighed on the

1 The *Ṣaḥîfa* gives instead of this expression quite a Sufic term,—*ahli waṣl*.

2 These two sentences are literally quoted from the 32nd *Ṣaḥîfa*.

3 This sentence is taken from the beginning of the 31st *Ṣaḥîfa*.

4 From here the 31st *Ṣaḥîfa* is merely paraphrased.

his own peculiarities. Just as there is brackish water, which affects the health, or harmless water, so the different religious systems, *sharî'ats*, initiated by different *Nâṭiqs* are composed of different elements. Some elements are intended for everybody, such as promise of punishment, the circumstances of the Resurrection, or the command of abstention from doing what is prohibited.[1] Some of such prescriptions impose a burden upon the followers of the formal religion, as in the case of hard observances prescribed to the *Ẓâhirîs*, such as fast, prayer, religious tax, and *ḥajj*. Some other commandments are not burdensome, such as the command to cultivate laudable qualities, or to reveal the mysteries.[2]

> Every one who follows the command of God is with the Creator,
> And who does not follow it, he is not with Him.[3]

The river of milk brings benefit to a more limited number of beings than in the case of water. All plants and some species of living creatures, as, for instance, birds, have no need of it. This is a symbol of the mysteries of the great *ḥujjat*;[4] "the taste of which never changes",—i.e. they need no further interpretation (*ta'wîl*). This is concerned only with the people who possess power (*dawlat*) and who are engaged in special preaching (*da'wati khâṣṣ*)[5] (of the true religion), i.e. the followers of the Imam of the time, who obey what is ordered in the Coran (IV, 62): "O ye who believe, obey God, and obey the Apostle, and those in authority amongst you". The Prophet said: "I am the city of knowledge, and 'Alî is its gate", i.e. the most sacred *Bâb*.

Honey is used by a still more limited number of beings than milk. Only man and certain animals derive any benefit from it. It exists for the purpose of healing some diseases of man. This is a symbol of the *ta'wîls* of the *Asâs*, which are intended to cure the disease of imitative piety (*taqlîd*), and the stupidity (*jahl*) of the people. It is concerned only with the learned; just as is the case with honey which appears either as raw, or partly clarified, or completely clarified. The *ta'wîls*[6] are also of three degrees: interpretation of the meaning of a story,—which is the simplest; interpretation of the prescrip-

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1 Instead of *mahînân* (p. 109, line 4) in the 33rd *Ṣaḥîfa* there is *manhiyât*, which seems to be more suitable here.

2 Apparently the negative particle *na* is omitted here, and one should read: "or *not* to reveal the mysteries".

3 This *bayt* is omitted in the *Ṣaḥîfa*.

4 Instead of the expression *ḥujjati a'ẓam*, which is so often used in this work, the *Ṣaḥîfa* gives in the corresponding place simply *ḥujjatân*, in the Plural.

5 In the *Ṣaḥîfa* simply *ahli da'wat*.

6 In the *Ṣaḥîfa* is added *wa tanzîlât*, apparently by an oversight.

taken on to the bridge of the "Straight Path", *Ṣirâṭu'l-mustaqîm*, which means going uphill for a thousand years, and for one thousand years by a level road, and for one thousand years downhill; it is thinner than a hair, and sharper than the edge of a sword. If his reply about his Lord being the Creator is satisfactory, an angel of mercy will appear on his right side, and will carry him over the bridge of *Ṣirâṭ* just as if by a highway, **[108]** from the East to the West,—it will appear to him as soft and level as the palm of the hand. If his reply is unsatisfactory, —God forbid,—he will fall into Hell and fire, and will be severely tortured there.

The best of the inmates of Hell are clothed with a thousand dresses of fire; their food is the weight of a *man* of *zaqûm* poison, and half a *man* of fire; as this goes down to the stomach, it will burn everything in the four passages of the body, and half of it will stick in the throat, so that its burning will be noticeable on the four ways of the Universe,—it would be as dreadful as causing death.

Another class is formed by those people who try their best; and some of them are the foremost (*sâbiq*), in their goodness.

It is well known that there are eight doors in Paradise, and these are the symbols for the eight forms of the activity of the human being, i.e. perception of senses, imagination, and reasoning power; also the five external (*ẓâhir*) senses, and, in addition to these, thought, imagination, and reason; when these seven faculties follow the last named, i.e. reason, surely only good actions are done by the individual[1]; they lead him to the happiness of Paradise. Thus these eight faculties correspond with the eight doors of Paradise. And the one who attains Paradise is the man whose senses follow the dictates of reason. No sinful actions are done by him, and he continually practices only good and laudable actions,—Paradise is his eternal abode.

On the *streams* of Paradise. There are four streams in Paradise: water which does not harm; milk; wine, and refined honey, as is said in the Coran (XLVII, 16): "In it are rivers of water without corruption, and rivers of milk, the taste whereof changes not; and rivers of wine, delicious to those who drink; and rivers of honey clarified". The river of water is useful to every being,—to man, animal, and plant. This is a symbol for the preaching (*da'wat*) of a *Nâṭiq*, which is intended to be understood by everybody. The meaning of the prescriptions of *sharî'at*, and the wise word of the *Nâṭiq*, reach equally the people of unity (*ahli waḥdat*) and **[109]** the people of gradual progress (*ahli tarattub*), who correspond with man, and also the enemies (*ahli taḍâdd*), who correspond with beasts. Every *Nâṭiq* has

1 Instead of *mushakhkhaṣ* (p. 108, line 9) the 33rd *Ṣaḥîfa* gives simply *shakhṣî*, which seems better.

of the *ta'wîl*, and those who know the real meaning of the Divine revelation, *tanzîl*. And the people seeking pleasures are those who are only looking for position and wealth.

The people of this world are divided into three classes: the advanced (*sâbiq*), the people of the right hand (*ahli yamîn*), and the people of the left hand (*ahli shamâl*). The first group, the *sâbiqs*, are those who profess the unity of God (*ahli waḥdat*). **[107]** Perfection of Paradise depends on them, as the Apostle of God said with reference to Salmân (Fârsî): " Verily, Paradise wishes more to have Salmân amongst its inmates than Salmân wishes to be in Paradise ". And it is also with reference to this class of people that is said: " God, drown us completely (to save) us from its drowning (?) " [1]. Each of them has a separate cell, over which, and at the window of which, hangs a branch of the *Ṭûbâ* tree; *ḥûrîs* and pretty boys serve them. The most revered amongst the inmates of Paradise are clothed with seventy thousand dresses of the silk of Paradise; and the least respected amongst them are clothed with seventy dresses made of Paradisial silk.

They receive their drink from the four streams of Paradise, those of water, milk, refined honey, and wine. Their food comes from that overhanging branch of the *Ṭûbâ* tree from which they get whatever they like. There are also " *Ḥûrîs*, secluded in the tents " (Cor. LV, 72).

Paradise is the dwelling place of those who abstain from things sinful. But the enemies of the religion (*ahli taḍâdd*) are the inmates of Hell, and are tortured by the adverse circumstances in this world,—they are the people of Hell. There is a reference in the Coran to these three classes of people (XXXV, 29): " And of them are some who wrong themselves, and of them are some who take a middle course, and of them are some who vie in good works ".

When people leave this temporary world for the abode of eternity, first of all they have to answer the questions of Munkar and Nakir: " Who is your Lord, what is your faith, who is the Prophet whom you follow, who is your Imam, what is the object of your worship (*qibla*), and what are you generally?" If a proper answer comes forth from the slave: " My Lord is the Creator of the world, my faith is the pure religion of Muḥammad the Chosen, my Imam is the Imam of the present time, etc.", —then one of the doors of Paradise will be opened before him. But if his answer is unsatisfactory,—God forbid,—he will be

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[1] This Arabic quotation, as is quite usual in these copies, is badly mutilated. It does not appear either in the HB Abû Isḥâq, or in the 33rd *Saḥîfa*, in the corresponding place. It probably means something like this: " God, drown us (in piety) to save us from being drowned in the affairs of this world ".

as indicated in the Coran (XLIV, 54): "We have given them the properties of (or: united them with) [106] the real *ḥûrîs*".

This degree is not attainable to outsiders (*nâ-maḥram*), or to enemies (*ahli taḍâdd*). This is why in the Coran it is specially noted (LV, 72): "*Ḥûrîs* kept back in the tents",—i.e. there are some *ḥûrîs* who are kept aside under a screen. And whoever in his behaviour is like an angel, without having really attained the angelic nature, or one who possesses the angelic nature, but is (no longer ?) an angel,—he will be unable to attain the privilege of seeing the real *ḥûrîs*. This is indicated in the verse of the Coran (LV, 56): "(Maids) whom no man nor *jinn* has deflowered before",—this could be done only by angels, of angelic nature. As the soul returns and retreats to such condition and state as described, God grants every His friend, who possesses higher knowledge, an ever new pleasure, similar to that which a lover gets when meeting his beloved again.

On *ḥûrîs* (*ḥûru'l-'în*), and the *Ṭûbâ*-tree. Know that those whom God helps shall be able to see things as they really are, beholding the traces of Divine benevolence in every atom of His kingdom and Omnipotence.[1] And when the vision of the lights of the Substance of the Creator,[2] which is manifest in every atom, becomes hypostasized (*mutamaththal*),—no doubt, it will adopt the "most beautiful form" (*aḥsanu's-ṣûrat*),—and this is what is meant by the *ḥûrîs* of Paradise. It is obvious that the state of beatitude (*tamattu'*) [3] is not derived by the persons of clear spiritual vision from merely seeing (Paradise). It is only an act of the Divine command (*'âlami amr*) that the whole of the spirit, and entire substance of the possessor of the knowledge (*'ârif*) become assimilated (*mutamaththal*) with that form (*ṣûrat*) by the way of a complete union (*ittiḥâd*) and coincidence (*yakânagî*) because the contemplation of knowledge (*dânish*) of something by a person, becomes inseparable from the substance (*dhât*) of that person.

On *Paradise* and its *doors*.[4] Know that in the realm of abstract ideas Paradise means eternal existence (*baqâ*) and knowledge (*dânish*). In the experience of the senses it means pleasure. Thus, in other words, it signifies the people who follow the Truth and attain the eternal life, i.e. those who are the masters

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1 It is better to follow the reading given in the 35th *Ṣaḥîfa* : *Mulk wa Malakût* (here p. 106, line 11).

2 Instead of the expression *dhâti mubdi'* (p. 106, line 11) it is better to read *dhâti mubdi'*, as given in the 35th *Ṣaḥîfa*, from which this passage is quoted. The term *mubdi'* is always used in the early Ismaili works to convey the idea of "Creator".

3 Instead of *tama'*, as on p. 106, line 13, it is better to read *tamattu'*, as in the same 35th *Sahîfa*.

4 This is a literal quotation from the 33rd and 34th *Ṣaḥîfas* (from here as far as p. 107, line 5, and pp. 108, l. 4 to 110, l. 4 of the text).

(*D. Allegorical interpretation of eschatological ideas.*)

Now we may take up different topics (*fawâ'id*), with the help and power of the Lord of the time :—may it be that only what he puts into his slave's mouth will be said here!

'Abdu'l-lâh ibn 'Abbâs says that the tree, the fruit of which Adam tasted (though having been forbidden), and the leaves of which he put on himself as a kind of dress, was the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, i.e. it was a kind of wisdom. The fruits of that tree were the higher knowledge (*'ilmi bâṭin*), so that people have a right to call it the tree of Paradise. And those leaves, in the middle of which the fruits grow, are the knowledge of the outward side of the religion (*ẓâhir*),—they only are food for animals.

If the tree of the knowledge of good and of evil is (within) man, as is said (Cor. XX, 118) : " . . . the tree of Paradise (or immortality) and the kingdom that shall not wane ",—then Paradise should also be (within) man. Because immortality (*khuld*) and the kingdom that shall not wane can only be fruits of the tree which (grows where one) sees God.

The words of repentance of Adam which he uttered, and which were accepted, also were (within) man, as may be seen from the Coran (XIV, 29): "A good word is like a good tree whose root is firm and whose branches are in the sky ".[1] In the sphere of religious knowledge the expression the "tree of *Ṭûbâ*" signifies the true Imam. A ray from the light of his knowledge reappears in the nature of every inhabitant of Paradise who is a slave of the Imam, and who recognizes him. Whatever his faithful slaves accomplish in the religion, or in the realm of what is the command of God, all this becomes perfect at once, as God said (Cor. LVI, 35) : "And We made them virgins, with pomegranate-like breasts ".

Ṭûbâ, as is well-known, is a tree in Paradise, and its branches overhang the highest part of it. Everything that the inhabitants of Paradise want, at once appears on its branches. This is an allegory for those who receive direct inspiration (*ta'yîd*) from God, as their knowledge (*'ilm*), power (*qudrat*), and desire (*irâdat*),—all three are but one. Therefore, whatever may be the object of desire of those who are granted the *ta'yîd*, it is at once gained by the virtue of their knowledge of it.

All the inmates of Paradise have a share in the *ta'yîd*. For this reason it is narrated that a branch of the *Ṭûbâ* tree hangs over the window of the cell of every inmate of Paradise,

[1] Here begins a literal quotation from the 35th *Ṣaḥîfa*. Though the original sentences are the same, their order is here different. Originally they are to follow the order such as this : p. 106, lines 10–15 ; p. 105, line 19 p. 106, line 9 ; p. 105, lines 12-18 ; p. 105, lines 18-19 ; p. 105, lines 10–12.

The Prophet said: "I was a prophet when Adam was still between clay and water". This means that God the Most High said that many thousand years before the creation of either the world or Adam, the light of Prophethood and of *walâyat* was with Him, behind the veil of the Substance which is "beyond doubt". "I wanted to manifest Myself in the world, so I appeared in this form, and with these attributes."[1]

This is the right religion (*dîn*) of God the Most High; and in *ta'wîl* the word "religion" (*dîn*) means the Imam. The meaning of this (?) verse[2] is as follows: "Know, O *Nâṭiq*, thy Imam and thy God, so that thou mayest acquire the right faith". This right religion is the *fiṭrat*, or predestined nature, which comes from God, i.e. (the religion of) the highest *ḥudûd*, or ranks, by which the human beings are living.[3] This means that the higher ranks in the religious hierarchy, and those who possess higher knowledge, profess the same original faith of creation (*fiṭrat*). These people are merely the produce (*âthâr*) of the higher degrees of creation (*ḥudûdi 'ulwâ*), being only their visible personifications. If the veil of personality is lifted, only the original substance remains, as is said in the Coran (XXVIII, 88): "Everything is perishable except His face", and His face is the Imam. The same matter is referred to in the verse (?)[4]: "Everything returns to its original state".

Everything returns to its original state,—
Pure gold, silver, and lead.[5]

In another verse (XXX, 10): "God produces a creation, then He makes it go back again", and (II, 260 ?): "Then He revives it, and then makes it die".

This is the end of the portion dealing with the parallelism between the Universe and the individual human beings (*âfâq wa anfus*). [105]

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[1] These discussions, from the beginning of the part (c) in this chapter, are obviously derived from a work which closely follows the Fatimid tradition, apparently from the same *Saḥîfatu'n-nâẓirîn*. The 25th *Ṣaḥîfa* is literally quoted here, and the passage on p. 104, lines 14–17 is taken from the 24th *Ṣaḥîfa*.

[2] There is no verse of the Coran quoted here. In the 25th *Saḥîfa*, which most probably is the original from which this passage is taken, it is also stated, after the word *Imâm* (here the end of the 7th line): *ya'nî âyat în ast*; but no *âyat* is quoted. Thus it seems that it is omitted in the original itself.

[3] The last words are omitted in the *Saḥîfa*.

[4] This is not from the Coran, but probably from a *ḥadîth*. In the 25th *Ṣaḥîfa*, which is probably the original, after this follows a quotation of the Cor. XXX, 10, which here appears further on. Here is inserted a portion of the 24th *Ṣaḥîfa*, including a *bayt*.

[5] It is interesting to note that this verse appears in the *Ṣaḥîfa*, which generally avoids poetical quotations.

receive from the *Nâṭiq* the revelation (*tanzîl*), and from the *Asâs* the interpretation (*ta'wîl*); these degrees are those of *mustajîb*, of *ma'dhun*, and of *mu'allim*. Four other degrees receive (the knowledge) by special favour, *'aṭâ*: the *lâḥiq*, the *ḥujjat*, and the two *asâses*.[1] **[103]** There are seven Imams in every period.[2] There are twelve *lâḥiqs*.[3] Altogether these are twenty-eight. The expression "there is no deity but Allah", which is basic (*mîzân*), in such matters, consists of twelve letters. The same is the case with the expression "Muḥammad the Apostle of God", and the "Commander of the Faithful", "'Alî ibn Abî Ṭâlib", "Muḥammad ibn Ismâ'îl". Similarly, the name of the *Qâ'im*, the Lord of 18.000 worlds,—prostration and glory be due at his mention!—Mawlâ-nâ Mustanṣir bi'l-lâh, is composed of twelve letters. By his exalted name all creation is kept in existence. God the Most High said: "The Creator of everything and the nourisher of every living creature". And in another place is said: "Living One who never dies, Merciful, whose light never becomes extinguished in the heavens, on the earth, and in human beings". In the Coran (XXX, 29) God addresses these words to the *Nâṭiq*: "Set thy face steadfast towards the religion as a *ḥanîf*, according to the constitution whereon God has constituted men; there is no altering the creation of God,—that is the standard religion". This is proved by the words of God: "God created Adam after His own form, the Merciful",[4] and (XXXII, 8): "And breathed into him of His spirit". And it is said further on (Cor. II, 32): "And when We said to the angels: prostrate before Adam,—they prostrated before him, save Iblîs, who refused and was too proud, thus becoming one of the unbelievers". He said: "Prostration is only due to God, but Adam is created from dust, and dust is a dark substance. I am created from fire, and fire is from light". When he thus disobeyed God, a curse fell upon him, and he became expelled forever. **[104]**

The same light is present in the world, and God's order to prostrate before Adam is an absolute duty and the foundation of the religious duties of man, who should recognize the Adam of his own time and know him, so as to be saved and to obtain peace.

[1] As already mentioned (cf. note 1 on p. 88), the *lâḥiq* and the *ḥujjat* are usually treated in Fatimid literature as synonyms.

[2] This is again a relic of the earlier strata of the Ismaili evolution. The "seven Imams" often appear in the *Wajhi dîn*, just as they are frequently mentioned in the early Fatimid literature. But later on the idea is more and more forgotten. In the genuine Nizari literature such references are quite exceptional.

[3] Thus we can see that these *lâḥiqs* are the same as the *ḥujjats* (cf. note 1 on p. 88).

[4] Again the same doubtful expression, cf. above, note 1 on p. 55 (of the translation).

Seven forms of instinct: attraction, touch, digestion, repulsion, direction, growth, and procreation. Man comes out of seven substances: plasm, clay, sperm, clotted blood, fœtus, flesh, and bones. It is said: "We created him finally". Stability is found only in combination. And man in his life passes through seven phases: new born child, infant, child, boy, youth, adult, and old man. Thus these also appear in sevens.

"Muḥammad the Apostle of God" is written (in Arabic) with only seven letters. Similarly, the expression "there is no deity but Allah". The Coran is divided into seven parts (*qismat*); there are seven lengthy chapters in it. Seven chapters begin with a prefixed letter *mîm*; there are seven verses (in the first chapter): the formula "in the name of God" is also composed of seven letters.

There are seven lawgivers,—six periods of the religious law (*sharî'at*): Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Muhammad the Apostle of God, and one is that of the *Qâ'im*.—prostration and glorification be due at his mention! The *Waṣis* are also seven [1]: Seth, Sâm, Ismâ'îl, Aaron, Simon, and Mawlâ-nâ 'Alî. It is said in a *ḥadîth*: "(God) created them from seven, gave bread from seven, and they prostrated to God seven times" (?).

There are only seven tastes, seven colours. The expression "but Allah" [2] is the scale on which all the prescriptions of the religion become equal. The knowledge of the (hidden meaning of) letters is the foundation of all sciences. I have to say therefore: the formula of the profession of *tawḥîd* contains two prescriptions, one negative, and the other positive, and seven "jewels". The expression "but Allah" consists of four elements. The sentence "there is no deity but Allah" in writing is composed of seven separate groups of letters which are joined to one another (*muqta'*). It consists of twelve letters. Altogether there are twenty-eight.

[The author continues in the same strain his speculations about these mystical numbers, seven, twelve, twenty-eight, etc. He seeks for explanation of their supposed to be mystical meaning in arbitrary and fanciful associating them with different planets, elements, physical faculties, etc., in accordance with the ancient ideas. It is hardly worth while to repeat all this stuff in full.]

We have found the sphere of religion similarly composed of groups of seven, cf. the *Nâṭiq* and *Asâs*: three degrees of believers

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1 There is no mention anywhere of the name of the *Waṣî* who will accompany the expected *Qâ'im*, and it seems that there is even no indication as to whether the latter will have one. The early Fatimid tradition regarded Imam Muḥammad b. Ismâ'îl as the initiator of the seventh millennial *dawr*. But later on this belief was apparently forgotten; anyhow, it is never mentioned in the Nizari works. But even in this tradition there is no mention of the *Waṣî* of the *Sâbi'u'n-nuṭaqâ'*, as the *Qâ'im* is there called.

2 i.e. the second half of the Muhammadan creed.

that you worship God as when you see Him present before you". And Mawlâ-nâ says: "I would not worship the Lord, could I not see Him, and if He did not prohibit fornication".[1] [101] May Our Lord help His slaves to obey the religion!

(C. The reason why this treatise is divided into seven chapters.)

We have given here some interpretations (*ta'wîl*) of the Coran, so that they would not be missing in this work. Now we have to explain why this book is divided into seven chapters.

Looking into the system of the true religion, its Foundation (*Asâs*) and its Preacher (*Nâṭiq*), we find that the degrees of its dignitaries are seven, from *Imâm*, *Bâb*, *Asâs*,[2] to *mustajîb*. On examining the Universe and human nature, we see that everything therein consists of units of seven. It is said in the Coran (XLI, 53): "We will show them Our signs in the regions and in themselves", i.e. we will show them the degrees of the dignitaries (*ḥudûd*) of the religion in the Universe and in their own nature. We will give here some of them.

First of all, the number of the first seven ranks (*ḥadd*) is a perfect number. The meaning of perfection is its being composed of numbers which are perfect in their being simple numbers,—thus it is a sum of simple (perfect) ones. This number is composed of three degrees: first the *Nâṭiq*, secondly the *Asâs*, and thirdly the *Bâb*. They are perfect in their being only one in each kind; being taken in pairs they make four; four plus three is seven. We find that everything in the Universe and in human nature is composed on the same lines; there is, however, another type, composed of eight. The latter is also derived from seven, because, if calculated from one, which corresponds with the degree of *walâyat*, it will make only seven. And still another type is composed of twelve, and this consists of four and three which make seven. Thus all numbers are reduced to seven.

There are seven heavens, which have seven planets;[3] there are seven earths, seven seas, seven climes, seven strong winds, seven days of the week,—these make seven times seven.

Man has seven parts of the body: two hands, two feet and legs, a face, nose, heart, liver, stomach lungs, spleen and kidneys. In another way: hair, skin, flesh, bones, veins, fat, and blood. Also seven senses of perception (*mudrik*): hearing, sight, taste, smell, growth, [102] reasoning, and imagination.

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[1] Follow a few sentences invoking curses upon the enemies of 'Alî and Imams.

[2] Cf. about this term p. 72, note 1. *Bâb* here probably means the *ḥujjat*.

[3] Usually Muhammadan astronomers accept nine *falaks*, adding to these seven also the *falak* of the fixed stars, and the *falaku'l-muḥîṭ*.

Ṭûbâ . . . . . from the Throne of God,—welcome[1]
Every heart that is obedient to the Imam of the time.

It has already been explained in the Third Chapter that the following verse refers to the false leader. **[100]** (*Imâmâni bâṭil*) (II, 259): " But those who disbelieve, their patrons are (like) Ṭâghût,—they lead them forth from light to darkness ". The name Ṭâghût comes from *ṭughyân*,—disobedience, i.e. insubordination to the command of God, i.e. to the true Imams.[2] It is said (VI, 122): " Is he who was dead and We have quickened him ", i.e. by the knowledge of religion we resuscitated him who through his ignorance was dead. It is said (XV, 99): " And serve thy Lord until certainty shall come to thee ", i.e. one has to bear the burden of the restrictions of *sharî'at* only until one has attained the state of complete conviction in his belief.

It is also said (Cor. XXIV, 31): " And let them not display their ornaments . . . save to their husbands and fathers, or the fathers of their husbands ", i.e. women, by whom are meant the new initiates, should not disclose the secret doctrine. Teachers are compared with men, and new initiates with women, —they should not reveal to the enemies what they know about the doctrine and its preaching; they can speak about this only to their husbands, i.e. their teachers.

It is also said (V, 96): " Kill not game while ye are on pilgrimage ",—i.e. one should not carry on preaching without special permission and instruction. But one has the right to kill small snakes, scorpions, and large snakes which are dangerous; this means that one can fight the avowed enemies of the religion, the Gog and Magog who threaten the faithful,[3] and whom Abraham has annihilated,—they were the people who used to stick (only) to the outward form of religion. And the story about how he smote their chief on his shoulder with an axe, means that he defeated them by their own arguments.

It is said (XVI. 92): " Verily, God bids you do justice and good ". The meaning of justice is the rank of the Prophet, as justice means both *sharî'at* and the Prophet. And the meaning of " doing good " is connected with the rank of the *Waṣî*, i.e. Mawlâ-nâ 'Alî, because it implies his doing some people a special favour (*'aṭâ*). This is the rank of the *Waṣî*, who always was, and always will be, because (LVII, 3): " He is the first and the last, and the manifest and the hidden; and he all things doth know ", choosing some people to whom he reveals his *ta'wîl*. It is said in a *ḥadîth*: " Doing good means

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[1] In both copies this *bayt* appears in an incomplete form, in the first half some words being omitted. It is omitted in the HB Abû Isḥâq.
[2] The etymology is again popular.
[3] The next few words are illegible in both copies.

Abraham, and Jesus ", to establish the religion.[1] This means : O Muḥammad, We took the oath of allegiance to Imamat from all the prophets, who had to observe the covenant of Ghadîr Khumm, i.e. that they should lead the people to the *Qâ'im* of the *Qiyâmat*, observing the rights of their *Waṣîs*, who are the guardians of the *ta'wîl* of the First and Last Day. It is said in the Coran (CX, 1): " When comes God's help and victory, and thou shalt see men enter into God's religion by troops,— then celebrate the praises of thy Lord, and ask forgiveness of Him. Verily, He is relentant ". This means : when the *Qâ'im* of the *Qiyâmat* manifests himself, the people will come in crowds to join the religion of Truth. Pray then for forgiveness, [99] and return to God from the ways of acting such as belong to the *ẓâhir*. One has to turn from what is a mere symbol in the outward form of religion, and go to what is implied in it. It is said in the Coran (II, 6) : " God has set a seal upon their hearts and on their hearing ; and on their eyes is a dimness ". This means : God has sealed the hearts, eyes, and ears of the people who stick only to the outward form of religion (*ẓâhir*), so that they cannot find their way to the Truth (*ḥaqîqat*). It is said in the Coran (IV, 54) : " They believe in Jibt and Ṭâghût ",[2] i.e. they believe in the leaders who lead them astray and make them err, as is said in another verse of the Coran (II, 17 or 166) : " Deaf, dumb, blind, and they shall not see " (or turn, from errors). There are many other verses which allude to those who are blind and deaf when concerned with the true Imams, but believe in the false leaders,—their hearts and eyes are sealed.

It is said about the true Imams (II, 258) : " The patron of those who believe, He brings them forth from darkness to light ", i.e. they, the Imams, make the whole world full of light. This is also said about the true Imams (XXIV, 35) : " God is the light of the heavens and the earth ; His light is like a niche, in which is a lantern, and in the lantern is a lamp ". This means that the Light of the Truth of the Most High is the Imam of the time ; it shines in the heavens and the earth, filling them with light. It shines from the niche of the Prophet, by whose light mankind is guided. The lamp is the heart of 'Alî, who is the *Waṣî* of the Prophet,—he lights the glittering stars of the line of his successors (*dhurriyyat*), which shine from the blessed olive tree, i.e. Abraham, the Friend of God, and 'Alî, the descendant of 'Imrân. The Prophet is a descendant of Abraham, and 'Alî is a descendant of 'Imrân, as is said in the verse of the Coran (III, 30) : " Verily, God has chosen Adam, and Noah, and Abraham's people, and 'Imrân's people above the worlds ".

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1 The later words are not found in the Coran.
2 Names of two demons or idols, mentioned in the Coran.

are explained here. I will mention here yet another number of *ta'wîls* of the verses of the Coran.

God the Allhighest said (Cor. IV, 158): "For the injustice of those who are Jews have we forbidden them good things", from the food.[1] This means that those who were in touch with the Prophet, committed a crime, i.e. they referred his command about the appointment of his *Waṣî*, as a caliph, to some one else,—and the meaning of crime (*ẓulm*) is committing what is not lawful. In the preceding chapters we have found **[98]** that the office of the caliph belongs only to the *Waṣî* of the Prophet. Therefore "pure food" became prohibited to them, i.e. the interpretation (*ta'wîl*) of the Coran, which is pure. This was the (exclusive) privilege of 'Alî, because the whole of the Coran is bequeathed to him, while obvious doubts and taking possession by force belongs to people of *ẓâhir*, or superficial understanding of religion.

The knowledge of the mysteries of the prescriptions of *sharî'at*, and cancellation of the burdens imposed by these, are not for those who stick to the outward side of religion (*ẓâhir*); this is indicated in the verse of the Coran (V, 6): "Lawful for you today are good things". Day is the time when the sun is visible, and this symbolizes the appearance of the sun of Imamat, —to every one who reaches the sunshine of Imamat, and can see by it, good things are accessible, as is stated also in the verse (VII, 30): "Say: who has prohibited the ornaments of God which He brought forth for His servants, and the good things of His providing?" This means: Say, O Muḥammad, that the path of seeking the (inner) meaning (of religion) is prohibited to those who practice (outward) obedience, worship, and recite prayers, and to them the gorgeous dress and the ornaments are unlawful and improper, because God has prepared these pure ornaments (only) for His (thoroughly devoted) slaves. It is also said in the Coran (XLI, 44): "Say: this is for those who believe,—a guidance and healing", i.e. (these ornaments) are the verses of the Coran, which belong to the faithful: they indicate them the right path and the healing. Error and humiliation belong to those who stick to the outer side of the religion (*ẓâhir*), persisting in their belief that the Coran cannot be interpreted allegorically. The "pure bread" is the world of realities (*'âlami ḥaqîqat*), which is free from the contamination of doubt and error, and which is accessible to those who recognize the Imam of their time, so much as they have capacity for this, knowing their superior dignitaries (*ḥudûdi 'ulwâ*).

It is said in the Coran (XXXIII, 7): "And when We took of the prophets their oath,—from thee, from Noah, and

[1] The last two words are apparently taken from the Cor. VII, 30.

comes that doubt. Pregnant women have no menstruations,—this symbolizes those who have accepted the real knowledge (*ḥaqîqat*), and who thus became free from doubt and suspicion. As old women have no menstruations, thus those who are for a long time in the state of acceptance of the religion become immune from doubt and suspicion. The meaning of *istiḥâḍa* (or purification after menstruation) is referring in everything to the teacher (*mu'allim*), and inquiring of him so long as one feels a doubt in religion.

The meaning of *sleep* is being negligent in religious matters, after the knowledge of religion had been communicated to one; and a complete neglect is like death. Sleep resembles death, though in reality it is not the same. Thus those who enter the religion and the *da'wat*, which mean life, may fall into the sleep of negligence. To awake from the sleep is to reflect about this negligence, and purifications after sleep mean returning to the knowledge of religion.

The meaning of dress, and generally covering one's nudity, is the keeping hidden, from those who do not deserve to be trusted, the things and the covenants that are secret.

Prostration when imploring forgiveness for the sin committed means this: if a believer who is fully initiated (*ma'dhûn*), or a *dâ'î*, commits a mistake, he must return to the higher (*bâṭin*) knowledge which is with the *ḥujjat*, because the prostration (*sajda*) symbolizes the *Nâṭiq* or the *ḥujjat*.

The meaning of travelling (*safar*) is progress along the degrees of *ta'lîm*, i.e. learning the doctrine.

The meaning of marriage (*nikâḥ*) is being connected with the teacher (*mu'allim*), and the conception of the seed of his orders, i.e. accepting the word of his preaching (*da'wat*).

The meaning of *divorce* is keeping aloof from unworthy people, i.e. those who are not worthy of being trusted with the word of the religion.

The meaning of *death* is failing to acquire true knowledge (*ma'rifat*), and true religion (*ḥaqîqat*). The meaning of the *prayer over the dead* is this: when the pupil falls into ignorance, i.e. when he dies, himself, or when his true spirit (*rûḥi ḥaqîqat*) is killed by false teaching, his religious teacher helps him with the preaching of the true knowledge. If he accepts it, he becomes resuscitated, as if by the breathing of Jesus. If not,—he will be buried in the dust of the ignorance of superficial knowledge (*'ilmi ẓâhir*), and he will decompose in it.

(*B. The* ta'wîl *of some selected verses of the Coran.*)

In this treatise (*risâla*), thus much we have given of the *ta'wîls*, or allegorical interpretations, of different prescriptions of *sharî'at*, and of the outward meaning of the Coran, which also

The meaning of the chief mosque is the *ḥujjat*, as all come around him; other mosques are the teachers. The meaning of the *qibla* is the turning of everybody towards the *ḥujjat*, which is necessary: but the *ḥujjat* turns his face towards the Imam only.

The meaning of the *fast* (*rûza*) is to observe the *taqiyya*, i.e. precautionary dissimulation, and to keep secret from the enemies the tenets of the religion which is to be preached (*dîni da'wat*). The day of the festival (of breaking fast) is the day of the Great Resurrection (*Qiyâmati qiyâmât*), when, by the omnipotence of the command of the *Qâ'im*, all people will be overpowered by argument and proof.

The meaning of the *zakât*, or religious tax, is teaching the religion, and making it reach the faithful in accordance with their capacity to understand it. All over the world the *zakât* is collected by the deputy governor (*wâlî*), who divides it according to the oath (?), *bay'at*, of different people.[1] Is it not that all the knowledge of the religion is found with the Imam, and he conveys it to everybody in proportion to his degree of advancement? The distributor is the *ḥujjat*, who conveys as much of it as one can stand.

The meaning of *ḥajj*, or pilgrimage to Ka'ba, is gradually abandoning beliefs which one originally had, and advancing by stages, from *mustajîb* to *ḥujjat*. The uttering of the formula of *labbay-ka* means accepting the preaching of the *dâ'î*. And putting on the special pilgrim's dress, *iḥrâm*, means getting away from the practice and the society of people who stick only to the letter of the religion, *ẓâhir*. Hunting, or taking possession, or sexual intercourse, etc., all are prohibited until the *ḥajj* is finished. This means that when one abandons the people of *ẓâhir*, he must not preach to anybody until he reaches the Ka'ba and the *qibla* of the True religion, *ḥaqîqat*, and receives the permission to carry on the preaching (*da'wat*). Running, or circumambulating (in the rites of the pilgrimage) means hastening towards the Imam. Observing the *ḥajj* ceremonies of *jam'* and *kasr* signifies the *ḥujjat* and the Imam. Throwing stones means driving away devil-like people. Taking the water of Zamzam is seeking after the knowledge of the religion. And taking away the *iḥrâm* means getting away from the punishment of the prescriptions of *sharî'at*.

The meaning of the (restrictions connected with having) menstruations is this: every high priest (*lâḥiq*) or teacher (*mu'allim*) who feels some doubt in religion, even if he has the permission [97] to teach others, must abstain from performing the *namâz*, i.e. continuing preaching (*da'wat*), until he over-

1 In the HB Abû Isḥâq, in which the text in this place, on the whole, literally agrees, the word *bay'at* is omitted.

mum. Pollution in sleep (*iḥtilâm*) is a sign of adolescence. This means that when a faithful comes to the age of maturity, being instructed with the help of the original (*ta'yîdî*) knowledge and the disciplines of the religion, he must free himself from the teaching of the ordinary doctrine (*'ulûmi zâhir*).

Prayer (*namâz*). Its meaning is "being in contact" (*paywastagî*), because the word *ṣalât*, prayer, comes from the word *waṣlat*, i.e. contact, junction.[1] This is the arriving at, or reaching the knowledge of the Imam and of the true religion (*dîni ḥaqq*), after the purification (*ṭahârat*), which means becoming free from association with the adversaries. The call to prayer (*bângi namâz*) is preaching (*da'wat*), i.e. calling the people who seek for truth (*ahli ḥaqq*) to the recognition and knowledge of the Imam. It is a very important matter,—for this reason one has to say : "Come to the best of actions",[2]—it really is the best one can do. The Prophet said : "The *mu'adhdhins*, or the persons who call the people to prayer, will be those who have the longest necks on the day of Resurrection". This means that the Prophet called the *dâ'î* long-necked, which in *ta'wîl* means one who knows the people well. Whoever knows the mysteries of the *sharî'at*, has arrived at *ḥaqîqat*. And whoever has attained the knowledge of the Imam has arrived at the state of continuous prayer, as it is said (Cor. LXX, 23) : "Those who persist in their prayer". Such people are exempt from the prescriptions of outward law (*sharî'at*). It is said in the Coran about the law (*sharâ'i'*) (LVII, 13) : "Within it shall be mercy, and outside and before it is torment". The grave is the human body, and the torments of the grave are the prescriptions of the *sharî'at*. The trustees of Hell, the Nakîr and Munkar, are tyrants oppressing the outside world.

Our Lord, the King of the Day of Resurrection (*Qâ'imu'l-Qiyâmat*) is the Lord of the time,—prostration and glorification be due at his mention!—His rules and laws of the Resurrection **[96]** are the inner meaning of the prescriptions of the *sharî'at*. The angels conveying the reward are functionaries of his religion (*ḥudûdi dîn*). The inhabitants of Paradise are those who became emancipated from the letter of law (*ẓâhir*), and who attained the understanding of its inner meaning (*bâṭin*). In this world their reward is their being relieved from undergoing the obligatory rules imposed by the *sharî'at*. The Prophet said : "Their punishment and chains on them become non-existent". The meaning of the Day of Resurrection is what is said (Cor. LXXXVI, 9) : "The day when the secrets shall be tried".

[1] This etymology is, of course, quite "mystical".

[2] As is well known, this sentence forms a part of the Shi'ite formula of the *adhân*, or prayer call. It is never used by the Sunnites.

CHAPTER VII

Explaining some of the *ta'wîls*, or allegories of different expressions; the reasons of this treatise being divided into seven chapters; and a summary of the interdependence between the Universe and the human individuality. All these I will explain, with the help of Mawlâ-nâ, Exalted and Extolled be He!'

(*A. The* ta'wîl *of the prescriptions of the* sharî'at.)

Ritual Purification (*ṭahârat*). Its meaning is: making oneself clean from the acts which are committed by those who stick only to the outward side, *ẓâhir* of the teaching. Ablution means the returning to the knowledge of the Imam, because water in the system (*ḥadd*) of *ta'wîl* symbolizes the knowledge of the real truth (*ḥaqîqat*). When a slave of God purifies himself from the acts of the *ẓâhirîs*, he attains the knowledge of the religion, which is the recognition of the Imam. And whenever he falls into *ẓâhir*, he has to return to the knowledge of *ḥaqîqat*, so that he may be again purified. [95] Washing the head, the hands, the nostrils, and the mouth means (obtaining) the knowledge of the *dâ'î*, of the *lâḥiq*,[1] and the teacher (*mu'allim*). Washing the face and both hands to elbow means the knowledge of both the Fundaments (*Asâsayn*).[2] The touching (*masḥ*) of the head and the feet means the knowledge of both fundamental principles (*aṣl*), and the rejection to converse with the wicked or with the adversaries of the true religion, and abstaining from communicating the secret doctrines to outsiders (*ahli ẓâhir*).

The substitutional purification, *tayammum*, means that if there is no possibility of coming into touch with the *ḥujjat*, one has to seek purification with the help of the *dâ'î*, or the teacher (*mu'allim*), or the fully initiated (*ma'dhûn*).

Ritual uncleanness (*janâbat*) is of two kinds,—pollution in sexual intercourse, and in sleep. The meaning of sexual intercourse is instruction (*ta'lîm*). This means that if a mistake or error happens in it, the teacher must purify himself with the knowledge which comes directly from God (*'ilmi ta'yîdî*), which is the "flowing water". But if he cannot obtain this original (*ta'yîdî*) knowledge, he should purify himself with the knowledge derived from instruction (*ta'lîmî*),—and this is similar to *tayam-*

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[1] About this term cf. above, p. 88, note 1.

[2] Usually this term implies the Prophet and 'Alî, cf. pp. 57 and 102 (of the text).

of the glory and mercy of Our Lord. He is the means of knowing the Laws of the Reality (*ḥaqâ'iq*), and of solving doubts ; he is the governor and the commander of all the true faithful, and whoever disobeys him is placed in Hell, and suffers eternal punishment. The manifestation of the Divine attributes and His exalted properties attains its perfection in the *ḥujjat*. All *ḥujjats* are the same in substance. The Imam, who at the period of his (full) manifestation is the *Qâ'im* of the great Resurrection, is very near to him ; he is greater than the *ḥujjat*, through his revealing the mysteries of the Reality (*ḥaqâ'iq*).

Whoever attains the mercy of Our Lord, is saved from punishment ; and whoever is subjected to it, will always remain in such a state. May Our Lord give us friends as help, and may He keep open for His slaves the door of His mercy! These degrees which we calculated here are seven ; their mystery will be explained in the seventh *bâb*, or chapter, if Our Lord helps us.

or of what is bigger than it". The moth (or gnat) rises from the water of knowledge of the Reality; it is the weakest of all creatures that fly. The flying towards heaven is an allusion to its being inimical to the elephant, as it can fly amongst the different birds and the stars of heaven, by which are meant the dignitaries of the right faith: the elephant is a heavy animal, which always has to walk on the earth. He cannot even look at the sky: he is like the learned man amongst the followers of the *ẓâhir* of the *sharî'at*. But a mosquito gets through his skin (which is the *ẓâhir*). This is an allegory of the *mustajîb's* overpowering the people of the *ẓâhir*, and of making that doctrine lose its prestige in the eyes of its followers.

When the *mustajîb* is perfected in his learning, and his learning becomes such as to make him able to teach others, and to lead them out of their errors, he receives the title of *ma'dhûni asghar*, or the "junior licencee", from the senior *ma'dhûn*, or from the teacher. He thus becomes licenced to deal with the people of those religions, and the teacher gives him a licence to preach amongst them. When he succeeds in this, and claims a higher degree, the *ḥujjat* gives him the title of the *ma'dhûni akbar*, or senior *ma'dhûn*; this degree implies absolute freedom to preach amongst any people that he thinks necessary. When he tries to get a still higher degree, he becomes a teacher, *mu'allim*, by being appointed by the great *ḥujjat* in one of the provinces (*jazâ'ir*). He thus becomes one of the twelve *lâḥiqs*, who are in charge of different provinces; every *mu'min*, or *mustajîb* who resides in that district or province is under his command.[1] [94]

In addition to these degrees there is the degree of the *dâ'î*. This degree gives no special province into his charge, but he has the absolute licence to carry on the propaganda. After this there is the degree of the highest *ḥujjat*, and after comes that of the Imam. There is no intermediary between the Imam and the Great *Hujjat*. The knowledge of the *ḥujjat* is Divine (*ta'yîdî*), and he is infallible, or error-proof (*ma'ṣûm az khatâ*): he corresponds with the First *'Aql*. One cannot know the Lord except through him, as one cannot know God except through God. Only one man can really know God, and this is the great *ḥujjat*. All other people know Our Lord only through him, as the manifestation and the brilliance of the Reason (*'aql*) appears in him only. He is the "Gate of Knowledge", and the Gate

[1] This state of things belongs, indeed, to a much earlier period, and probably ceased to exist soon after the split. The arrangement itself, and the terminology, are very archaic; most probably the author took this from an early Ismaili work. The term *lâḥiq*, which is rare even in the early literature, most probably is intentionally introduced, to avoid confusion with the term *ḥujjat*, which is used by the Nizârîs in a different sense.

are real *dîws* and *ghûls*. And those who in their goodness have not attained the degree of angels, and in their badness have not attained the degree of the *dîw*, shall become *parîs*.[1]

To sum up, the Throne of God, *'Arsh*, the *Kursî*, the Board (*Lawḥ*), the Pen (*Qalam*), Paradise, and Hell,—all these refer to (the soul of) man. Thus, Paradise is the state of the man who calls people to God and to things Divine,—such a person is Good (*ṣawâb*). This is why the Prophet says that Salmân is the life (or soul, *jân*) of Paradise. And Hell is the state of the man who drives the people from God and from things Divine ; such a man is a punishment to himself and to all the people of Hell.

Bâbâ Sayyid-nâ says[2] that if a black stone is to be punished, it is named after a bad man. Therefore it transpires that in the future life the black or white stone is (like) a human being[3] ; and no one can attain freedom from fictitious beliefs until everything is visualized (*mu'ayyan*), and personified (*mushakhkhaṣ*) for him.

With the help of Our Lord, we will tell this in the chapter on conscious mind (*nafsi nâṭiqa*), explaining in detail what is the beginning and the end of things (*mabda' wa ma'âd*).

A faithful one, who possesses the virtues and devotion to God, and is helped by support (*'inâyat*) and the mercy of the Lord of his time, whom he knows, develops a great longing for the knowledge of God, and seeks the way unto Him. Then, after wandering amongst the 72 sects, [93] he sees all their futility, and finds for certain that he, like others, worshipped not God but his own fictitious ideas and fantasies. The fire of remorse begins to devour him, burning his (personal or individual) existence or non-existence, or his individuality,—all become burnt. With the help of Our Lord, who shows him the right way, he comes across one of the functionaries (*ḥudûd*) of the true religion (*dîn*), i.e. a *dâ'î*, or a competent teacher. After the true teacher tries him in many ways, and finds him suitable as a servant to Our Lord, he reveals to him the doctrine of the *da'wat*, as much as he is capable to understand, and he accepts it with all his heart and soul (*jân*). Then he becomes subjected to various regulations and restrictions, from which he does not shrink. This new servant who is in possession of pure faith (*ṣâḥib yaqîn*), receives the name of *mustajîb* (i.e. one who has the right to ask questions concerning the secret doctrine of the religion), and the teacher instructs him in the proofs and principles of the True Faith. Concerning this there is said in the Coran (II, 24) : ".. that God sets forth a parable of a moth,

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1 Apparently a paraphrase of the HB Bâbâ Sayyid-nâ, pp. 29-30 (orig. MS) ; the text does not agree literally, but the subject is the same.

2 Here the quotation is literal, cf. the HBBS, p. 31 (orig. MS).

3 Or : "certain states of human soul".

against himself; but he who fulfils what he has covenanted with God shall bring him mighty hire". This means that there is no hand above His hand, because his mystery is the mystery of God, his ears are the ears of God, his eyes are the eyes of God, his tongue, his mouth, his speech, his commands, his prohibitions, —all are those of God; and the orders and prohibitions, the power of cancelling and altering are all in his hands. It is he who gives orders, by the saying (Cor. V, 60): "Verily, your protector is God and His Apostle", and "Verily, I am the deputy of God on earth".

> "The hand of God is above their hands",—is revealed concerning him,
> Because there never will be anybody's hand above his hand.[1]

The *sharî'at*, and the laws of this world, and the "return" (*ma'âd*) of all the faithful and pious, all refer to the sacred substance of Our Lord,—Exalted and Extolled be He,—as is stated in the Coran (XXI, 93): "Everything returns to Us"; and (XCVI, 8): "Verily, the things return to thy Lord"; and (II, 151): "Verily, we are God's and, verily, to Him do we return".

The world of man who acquires the knowledge of the Imam is the world of eternal life, and unending existence. But the end (*ma'âd*) of the unbelievers and renegades is nothing but eternal non-existence and final extinction, [92] which is spiritual Hell. Some of them may return (into life ?) in the form of animals; but finally they will kill each other. As we have already mentioned, they will never attain the knowledge of the Truth,—except gradually. As we have shown, the people who possess the Truth are those who belong to the religion (*dîn*) of the *da'wat* of Our Lord. Thus none who does not associate with them can find the way to God. So long as he does not do this, he is fallen far away from God, who is eternal Life and perpetual Existence. And if he falls far from these, he goes to non-existence.

Thus it is clear that the people with whose help one may attain salvation (*ma'âd*), are the people of the religion (*dîn*) and of the *da'wat*. The salvation (*ma'âd*) of the enemies of religion (*ahli taḍâdd*), is to seek for the Truth, to step on the highway of the Truth, and to become members of the "people of gradual progress", *ahli tarattub*, i.e. the Ismaili community. And if they try then their best, they come back to the people of Unity, *ahli waḥdat*. And those *mu'mins* who are in possession of good qualities and good morals, and are not defaulters in the discharge of their service to God, become angels. But those who turn their faces away from God, or those who mislead others,

[1] The same verse is quoted again on p. 115 (text).

sensual form together an abstraction, and the sensual *plus* abstract form together a sensual perception[1]; because if you look at a living soul from the point of relativity, it will appear as a body; and if you look at a body from the point of view of absolute reality, it will be nothing but a living soul. And if an abstract notion is looked at from the point of relativity, it is nothing but a sensual perception, just as the sensual perception, looked upon from the point of view of the reality, is an abstract notion. If you look at the reality itself from the point of view of relativity, it will be relative, and if the relativity is seen from the point of view of reality, it will be the reality. And if one sees the Unity of God from the point of view of relativity, it will appear as plurality, but if the plurality of the creation is seen from the point of view of the reality, it appears as the Unity of God.

In the same "Blessed chapters"[2] it is written that whatever is entirely real, it has nothing to do with relativity. And everything that is only relative has no share in reality. And what is relative from reality, has nothing to do with either; and what is really real, and relatively relative, belongs to both these categories. Thus whoever sees the real and the relative in their proper positions, will be free from false and fictitious ideas.

It is also said in the "Blessed chapters"[3] that on the Last Day, when God will manifest Himself as a visible person, the *sharî'at* [91] will appear futile and fictitious.

We have already stated that on the Last Day everything will become alive, as is said in the Coran (XXIX, 64): "Verily, the abode of the next world, that is life,--if they did but know!" This means that no one is alive except him who attained the knowledge about reality (*ḥaqîqat*), as is also said in the Coran (XVI, 21): "Dead, not living"; and the future life is (entirely) the realm of religious realities, *rûḥâniyyât*. Thus the world is (like) a man. The Prophet says[4] that in the future life stones and heaps of dry earth will speak; and since none except man can speak, it thus appears that in the future life everything will return to its origin, and that the original form of man is that in which he was created. This world of sense is, as stated in the Coran (XLVIII, 10): "The hand of God is above their hands; and whoso perjures himself does but perjure himself

[1] This apparently means: an abstract idea, accompanied by an individual case of experience of senses, remains an abstract idea; but a perception of senses, even accompanied by an association with a general abstract idea, does not become by this an abstraction.

[2] This passage does not belong to the HB Bâbâ Sayyid-nâ, though to some extent resembles it.

[3] Again a literal quotation from HB Bâbâ Sayyid-nâ, p. 27 (orig. MS).

[4] Another quotation from the same work, p. 28 (orig. MS).

CHAPTER VI

On the origin of the physical and spiritual worlds, on the origin and the end of things, and on the explanation of the degrees of dignitaries, from the *mustajîb* to the *Imâm*.

In the preceding *bâbs* we have proved that only God has absolute existence; everything that *is*, exists through Him; everything that separates itself from the existence of God, falls into absolute non-existence. Therefore the physical world, which is governed (by the laws), from the highest celestial sphere to the centre of the earth, exists only through the existence of God, i.e. it stands only by some force, which is one of the forms of the Might of God, and which makes it existent. The skies are like the father, the lights are like speech (*nuṭq*), and their sons are the inorganic matter, plants and animals.[1] This power of God is spread in the heavens, which are like the father, and in the elements which are like the mother, and in the phenomena of physical nature (*mawâlîd*), which are like their children. All these are synthetized in man; and because all such forms of the power of God thus become re-united in the person of man, his person, or form, has to be that of God Himself. [90] The world is nothing but a magnified system of the properties of man; and man is a synthesis of the properties (or elements) of the world. Thus, in reality, man is the Macrocosmos; the elements of which he is composed all return to their proper place (*markaz*). Therefore we can call these scattered elements, of which man is composed, the world of things (*'âlami mawjûdât*).

The world of spirits, or of the spiritual, means the world of realities (*ḥaqâ'iq*), i.e. the world of ideas revealed in religion (*dîn*). It is because the existence of every thing rests upon its real prototype (*ḥaqîqat*) which underlies the genus of things of every kind. The reality underlying all things (together) is revealed in the conceptions of religion (*dîn*). The spiritual world is the world of life (*jân*), while the corporeal world is the world of body and of (inorganic) matter; both together are complete, but separately are nothing.

In the "Blessed chapters" (*Fuṣûli mubârak*)[2] it is written that the body and the soul together form a body, and the soul and body together form a soul (or life, *jân*). The abstract *plus* the

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[1] The subject of this paragraph agrees with the HB Bâbâ Sayyid-nâ, p. 25 (orig. MS).

[2] This is yet another literal quotation from the same source as that of the HB Bâbâ Sayyid-nâ, p. 27 (orig. MS).

The Prophet said: " If mankind could be united in the love for 'Alî ibn Abî Ṭâlib, God would not have created the fire of Hell ".

The Prophet also said : " God made a covenant with me that He will not accept the faith of any of His slaves except for the love to the Prophet, to 'Alî, and his descendants ". [89]

And he said : " Whoever is attached to 'Alî and to my descendants (*awlâd*), he is attached to me ; and whoever loves me, loves God ".

And he said : " Whoever hates 'Alî and my descendants, he hates me, and he who hates me, hates God the Allhighest ".

True it is what the Prophet says ! May Our Lord bless his slaves and make them pious, lending them His miraculous help, by His mercy and His generosity !

Another poet says :

If thou couldst learn, after a careful search,
The whole of the story, explaining the nature of 'Alî,
It would become clear to thee, by God,
That 'Alî is the one who speaks through all tongues.[1]

The Prophet said : " From the light emanating from the face of 'Alî God created 70,000 angels, who pray for mercy for him, and for his friends, till the Day of Judgment ". [88] And the Prophet also said :

" When I was taken to the heavens on the night of the Ascension (*Mi'râj*), and as I was passing through a corner of it, I saw an angel who sat on a chair (*minbar*) of light, and other angels were standing around him. I asked Jabra'îl, who this angel was ?—Jabra'îl replied : " Come near, and greet him ". When I went near him, and greeted him, I saw that he was my cousin, 'Alî ibn Abî Ṭâlib. I asked Jabra'îl : " When did he come before me to the fourth heaven ? " Jabra'îl replied : " O Prophet of God, 'Alî is the Manifestation of the miracles : he is the central support of the earth and of the heavens , the earth and the heavens cannot exist without him. But the angels, out of longing for 'Alî, complained to God, and God has created an angel from the Light of 'Alî, and now all of them in the night on Friday, and on Friday itself visit him 70.000 times, offering their praises and glorifications to God ".

In the *Manâqib* of Imam Muḥammad Bâqir [2] it is narrated that the Prophet said : " During my Ascension God the Allhighest spoke to me by the tongue of 'Alî ibn Abî Ṭâlib. I asked : " O my Lord, dost Thou speak to me, or 'Alî does this ? " The reply of God was : " O Muḥammad, I am not similar to anything in the world ; so it is no good to think of Me in the same way as of human beings, or to compare Me with anything, and it is no good to see Me as something definable. I have created thee from My own light, and 'Alî was created from thy light. Then, looking at every corner of thy heart, I found 'Alî everywhere, and found that I loved no one more than 'Alî ibn Abî Ṭâlib. This is why I spoke to thee by the tongue of 'Alî, so that thy heart shall be quiet, and not frightened by awe ".[3]

The Prophet said : " Love for 'Alî destroys sins, just as fire consumes fuel ".

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[1] From here to p. 88, line 17 of the text,—omitted in the HB Abû Isḥâq.

[2] No work with such title is known amongst early Shi'ite books. Most probably the author again gives a casual designation instead of its original title.

[3] These stories sound extremely non-Ismailitic, and most probably are derived from some popular Ithna-'ashari works on the *Mi'râj*. They are not given in the HB Abû Isḥâq, but from here both versions again begin to agree,—more or less.

In the state of Prophethood Not-being (*'adam*) became Thing (*shay'*) by Truth ;
Every dot that was capable of possessing properties has become alive ;
The kingdom and the power of every thing except God has become cancelled,
When in the manifestation of the *Waṣî* the Light of the age appeared from the Wine. [87]

The earth and the heavens, with all that is found in them, exist only by the Word of God, and cannot exist without it. By the will and order of God His Word manifests in that dot, mentioned by the Prophet (who called himself the dot under the letter ب). If it disappears from the heavens or the earth, how can things remain existent ? Thus all things come from 'Alî, as is related in the *ḥadîth* : " He is with the Coran, and the Coran is with him ",—because these letters of the Coran cannot be written without the dot ; and God called him " the dot ".

A dot became *alif*, and *alif* turned into all letters.
Thus in every letter *alif* is called by a different name.

In the *Kashfi kabîr* and the *Jâmi'i kabîr*[1] it is written that the Prophet said : " I am the Speaking (*nâṭiq*) Word of God ". As a poet says :

As 'Alî was the " Speaking Word " (of God),
He possessed properties like those of the Creator.

Another poet says :

It is the story of the light of a lamp and of a blind eye,
Or of the privilege to witness a miracle, bestowed upon an atheist.

The Prophet said : " God is not something whose existence is to be doubted,—verily He is apparent to the whole of the world ".

A poet says :

There is nothing to wonder if God makes
The whole of the world synthetized in One.
Every one who knows this, knows that this glory belongs to 'Alî,
Who is on the throne, as the head of mankind.

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[1] These treatises are mentioned neither amongst Ismaili, nor Ithna-'ashari works. They are not referred to by Brockelmann. Perhaps the titles are given in a wrong form.

And again the Prophet said: "I am carrying on war with revelation (*tanzîl*), and 'Alî—with *ta'wîl*"; but *ta'wîl* is the state of God Himself, as is said in the Coran (III, 5): "None know the interpretation (*ta'wîl*) of it except God, and the righteous". This means that the Prophet and 'Alî belong to one and the same reality (*ḥaqîqat*), and there is no differentiation (*ghayriyyat*) in their substance,—it exists only in appearance and in persons. And all that they say about belief in the One God (*tawḥîd*), or about the difficulties [86] which they solve,—all this wisdom is that of the degree of *Walâyat*, because the Prophet has the degree of prophethood and of *Walâyat* as well. The Imam has the degree of *Walâyat* in mystery, and the prophethood is open and manifest, but the degree of the "Successor", or "Friend of God" is higher and superior to that of prophethood. Therefore the *Walâyat* of 'Alî is superior to the *Nubuwwat* of prophets, because the *Walâyat* of the Commander of the Faithful is the same as the *Walâyat* of the Prophet about which the latter said: "I have moments of (direct) intercourse with God in which only the angels of the highest rank and prophets (?) can participate". This means that at some moments the Prophet has (direct) communication with God, in which no one can participate, except the highest rank of angels, like Jabra'îl, and the Apostles, like himself, who has the rank of prophethood, which belongs to the degree of *Walâyat*, also belonging to the Prophet.

Thus it is probably that difficult subject which the Prophet explains, i.e. absorption in God (*fanâ fî'l-lâh*), and eternal life in God (*baqâ' bi'l-lâh*).[1] And the Prophet said also: "I am the dot under the letter ب, and I am the hidden book". And he said also: "Wisdom is like a single dot, but the ignorant made it a multitude". This dot means the dot under the letter ب in the initial word of the formula of *Basmala*, "in the name of God". And his substance, which is like a dot, forms every thing, as all the letters are developed from it. In saying that knowledge is but a single dot, he refers to his own substance because his substance is the essence of all knowledge. All the prophets through whom sacred books were revealed and all such heavenly books themselves, cannot be disconnected from these letters; and the letters cannot be dissociated from the dot. Thus the dot participates and forms the basis of all. This is why the Prophet said: "O 'Alî, thou wert with all the prophets in mystery, and thou hast descended with me in open". This means: "O 'Alî, thou art the mystery of God; and the mystery of God made itself manifested in the person of Muḥammad".

[1] Both these terms, and the subject itself, are entirely Sufic,—Ismailism proper does not know these.

sandals". And when God sent fire, and the Mount Sinai was burnt, He said : " Verily, I am God, the Lord of the worlds ".

Thus the Real Truth is manifested in him, whose nature is the Light of God, in the first instance because, as mentioned in the verses of the Coran, it is revealed in the utterances of the Prophet : " Verily, I am with God, and I and 'Alî are two Lights before God, who existed fourteen thousand years before Adam was created ; and when he was created, this Light was transferred to his progeny, and it never ceased to pass from father to son, until it became divided into two branches, one of these being in the family of 'Abdu'l-lâh (the father of the Prophet), and the other, which was the branch of 'Alî, in the family of Abû Ṭâlib ; thus 'Alî is from me, and I am from him ".

And in another *ḥadîth* the Prophet says : " I and 'Alî both are from one and the same Light ". And it is stated in the Coran (XXIV, 35) : " God is the light of the heavens and the earth ; His light is as a niche in which is a lamp ". Thus as God is the light of the heavens and **[85]** of the earth, and as all lights are rays from the light of Muḥammad, thus 'Alî is the source of that light, because the Prophet is the real True Light (*Nûri Ḥaqq*), whose source is 'Alî :

> 'Alî it was who made the morning of Prophethood to dawn,
> Muḥammad is the seal-ring, and 'Alî is the design on its jewel.

Just as the Prophet said : " I am the light from which Moses derived his light of guidance ", i.e. 'Alî is that light which was borrowed by Moses for guidance. That fire which cried " I am thy Lord " was that Light.

The Prophet says : " The Lord of all things is the Word " be ", and 'Alî is exactly that word ". The Prophet also said : " I and 'Alî are from one and the same light ". The office of the Prophet depends upon mankind, and is limited by the reception of the revelation through Jabra'îl ; he would not be commissioned for his mission until such inspiration is conveyed to him ; it is obvious, therefore, that his mission depends on the services of Jabra'îl, as is made clear in the Coran (LIII, 3-4) : " . . . nor speaks he out of lust,—it is but an inspiration inspired ". And Jabra'îl is an angel bringing to the Prophet the inspiration from God, as stated in the Coran (V, 71) : " O thou, Apostle, preach what has been revealed to thee from thy Lord ". This implies :—" and thou art not commissioned to do something beyond this ". This mission of the Prophet is defined in the Coran (XIII, 40) : " Thy duty is only to deliver thy message, and Ours to reckon up ".

The position of 'Alî is that of *Walâyat* ; he has no intermediaries, but sees God without any intermediate " veils ".

spirit of the spirit, amongst the spirits that are the nearest unto Him "[1] (?)

And the Prophet said: "O 'Alî, thou wert hidden with all the prophets, and thou hast become manifest with me". And he added: "Thou art the book of God. Thou art the mystery of God, because no one knows thy mysterious substance except God. The mystery of God is revealed in His words which all deal with the exalted position, mine and thine".

The Prophet also said: "All mysteries of God which are in the heavenly books, i.e. Tawrât, Injîl, and Zabûr, are in the Coran; and all that are in the Coran are contained in the first chapter of it; and all that are in the *Fâtiḥa* are contained in the formula of the *Basmala*, "in the name of God"; and all that is found in this formula is contained in its first letter *b* (ب), and, ultimately, in the dot under that letter". Thus it is obvious that 'Alî is the meaning of that dot, the mystery of God, the mystery of all heavenly books; and that he was with all prophets and in all revealed books. Thus all the mysteries of the hidden heavenly books are in him. And, as all these heavenly books found their completion in the Prophet, it is thus obvious that they became complete in 'Alî. And whoever prefers to abide by the letter (*tanzîl*) of these revealed books, becomes like a Gabr, or a Christian, or a Jew,[2] or an Armenian, or Hindu, or an unbeliever, or an heretic; he thus becomes one of the male or female unbelievers, those who "go on the wrong path". And whoever attains the knowledge of *ta'wîl*, and acquires the knowledge (of the Imam), attains salvation and (eternal) relief.

From the Prophet, there was his "nearest Relative",[3]
'Alî, who was his hidden companion,—
He also was with all prophets secretly;—
The Word of God was thus manifested. [84]
The basis of all systems (of religion) was the Substance of
'Alî,
The (Divine) wisdom found its perfection in him.

God revealed in the story of Moses that when the latter came near the fire, the fire cried: "Verily I am God". It is said in the Coran (XX, 11-12): "And when he came to it, he was called to: O Moses, verily, I am thy Lord, so take off thy

[1] This quotation apparently is not from the same *Dîwân*, and seems to be not poetry, though its mutilated condition does not permit to be positive about this.

[2] Here the term "Jew" is given twice, in an ordinary Persian form as *Yahûd*, and in Central Asian form—*Jahût*.

[3] In both copies of the text, and in the HB Abû Isḥâq, the quotation begins in the same way, though it seems to be wrong, as the sentence appears to be ungrammatical.

existence, this is in accordance with the words of God (Cor. XXXVI, 82): "Verily, His bidding is only when [82] He desires anything, to say it "be",—and it is". We may add that "bringing into existence", *îjâd*, means when that thing becomes apparent. And also it is said in the Coran (VIII, 7): "God wished to prove the truth true by His words". And He makes falsehood false by His words, too.

It is proved thus that all things are subject to the will of the *Ṣâmit*[1] of the Truth, i.e. the Imam, and are under his control, as stated in the Coran (VII, 52): "And the sun, and the moon, and the stars are subject to His biddings", or (XVII, 87): "They will ask thee of the spirit. Say: the spirit comes at the biddings of my Lord", as the Imam is "I am the Order of God and the Spirit". And the command (*amr*) of God is that by which the word of order, "be", appeared. Therefore, it is befitting to every soul that sees through illumination, inspiration, or inquiry by the word of the Preacher (*Nâṭiq*), to say (Cor. LVII, 3): "I am the First and the Last, Manifest and Hidden, knowing every thing".

As God said that the Amîr, i.e. 'Alî, is the Word (*Kalima*) of the Divine Command "be", therefore, it follows, it is true that he is as is said. "I am the designer of men in the wombs of their mothers". Because every design which appears on the surface of nature, and by which every existent thing in this world is stamped, comes out of that (primaeval) *Word* of the Divine order.

This is why it is perfectly right that he, the Imam, should say: "I am the Word of God", because if, by chance, it disappears from the things of this world, everything ceases to exist. And this is why 'Alî said: "Thy medicine, though thou dost not realise this, is in thee: but thou missest it when it is absent."[2] And he said also: "Reflect about thy being an infinitesimal thing, and that in thee the Macrocosmos is condensed". In other words the Prophet says that 'Alî is comprised in himself as also is Macrocosmos: "Thou art the Guiding Book. The One who makes manifest (every thing), becomes Himself manifested in its letters". [83] For the same reason the saints of God said: "I am the Coran and the first chapter of it, and the

[1] The term *Ṣâmit* (=the "Silent" one), as an equivalent of *Asâs*, or *Waṣi*, appears very rarely, only in the earliest Ismaili works of the Fatimid period. In the Nizârî literature it seems to be never used normally, and appears only in an eclectic work such as the present.

[2] This, and the following Arabic quotations are taken from the apocryphal *Dîwân* of 'Alî ibn Abi Ṭâlib, cf., pp. 45-46 of the Bombay lithogr. ed. 1340. There are several variants: the second *bayt* begins with *wa taḥsabu* instead of *a taz'amu*; the third *bayt* ends with *al-muḍmar* instead of *al-maẓhar*.

What is intended in this passage is this: the organs of man, and their functions, such as those of hands, feet, etc., or hearing, sight, etc., are connected with the nature of man. Thus in both (?) *ḥadîths* which are mentioned above, every name agrees (?).[1] It is clear that the Master of Life is the possessor of all the truth. Thus whatever man says, or hears under such circumstances, it is He, God, and no one except Him, who speaks or hears. Some of the people who attained to such a high degree used sometimes to utter words which may appear objectionable to the common people, and opposed to the letter (*zâhir*) of the *sharî'at*; for instance (the well-known expression) "I am the Truth", or "Praise be to me". The Prophet said: "I and 'Alî are that Light which spoke to Moses". **[81]**

Al-lâh, Muḥammad, and 'Alî are one and the same substance,
Though to those whose vision is imperfect they appear as three.

We may explain this: whenever iron is put into fire, surrounded with burning charcoals, and the fire is made to blaze, the iron, being exposed to the flames, and remaining in a close touch with it, is purified of its blackness, solidity, and impurity, and reaches the state in which it acquires all properties usually associated with fire itself, such as sparking or burning, which are the ultimate nature of fire, and which thus become found in iron. In the same way, the slave of God who attains the distinction of being specially favoured by God owing to pious actions, as mentioned above, becomes God's own, devoted hands and feet hearing and sight. Then his every action is in fact the action or property of God, as the Prophet says (Cor. VIII, 17): "Thou didst not shoot when thou didst shoot, but God did shoot". Though in appearance the act of shooting is attributable to the Prophet, in reality it was an act of the Truth.

Thus in this *ḥadîth*, concerning the position of 'Alî, the Prophet said: "He ('Alî) is loved by God and by His Apostle". And as God has called him His Friend and His beloved, who can question, why and how this is?

In another *ḥadîth* it is said: "I and 'Alî are praised in the Substance of God". And again he said: "I am the word of God, the preacher (*Nâtiq*), and one who converses with God",—because conversation is the highest limit of friendly relations and association; whoever attains this degree is as if praised in the Substance of God, who is only One.

As thus the Prophet calls him "the Word of God"; and, as God has created both of them by His Word, bringing them into

[1] Here something is omitted in the original. It is not clear why *both ḥadîths* are referred to, while only one is actually quoted.

from him ", i.e. " I am of his substance ". And in the abode of this world, for explaining His great might and authority, he, the Prophet, in a perfect (=last ?) speech (*khuṭba*), (referring to his position, which is as high as his perfect nature), tells that he is " the abode of wisdom, and 'Alî is its gate ". He came to open the doors of knowledge and to unlock the gate of wisdom and spiritual vision. And blessings on his descendants of whom every one is like a guiding star in the heavens, to show the way to all those who lost their way in the desert of sin and ignorance. And especially to that Substance, which cannot be regarded except as the dot of the holy nature in the plurality of the letters of the being, and in the centre of the circumference of the circle of the existence. This sacred manifestation cannot be described adequately by the language of the humble or of the noble, when one has to offer it praise and glory.

O thou, the attribute of the Soul of the World,
O thou, who bringest faith and piety to all !
There is no one except Thee who really speaks,
Speaks in both worlds, by the tongues of all.
Though God has sent an Apostle,
There is no Universal Spirit and Soul except Thee.
Thou wert a companion of all, and from Thee
Every one's heart and soul is full of light. [80]

Prayers of God and His blessing be upon him and upon his descendants and offsprings, the pure !

Then : For a long time I had the desire and inclination, hidden and open (to write a treatise) explaining the sermon, *khuṭba*, which is attributed to the Commander of the Faithful and the Imam of the pious, the centre of the religion (?), the defeater of the proud and the destroyer of unbelievers, 'Alî ibn Abî Tâlib,—greatest blessings be upon him !—The book is called *Khuṭbatu'l-bayân*, or, as some hold, *Khuṭba'i anâbat*, or the " Sermon of the appointment of the lieutenant ", etc. ; it is based on the words of the Prophet. How can these sacred words be analysed and synthetized in such a way as not to appear to conflict with the letter of the religion, *ẓâhir*, and not to provoke objections from the orthodox ?

To reply this I have to mention that in a *ḥadîth* it is stated : " The slave of God, with the help of the acts of piety, never ceases to approach Me by performing religious practices (in addition to what is commanded for every faithful), until I begin to like him (for the sake of these). And when I, God, really begin to love him, I become his hearing, by which he hears ; and his sight by which he sees ; his hand by which he takes, and his foot by which he walks ".[1]

[1] Here apparently the quotation from Bâbâ Sayyid-nâ ends.

Do not show your pride in worldly matters, and do not despise those who are poor,—this becomes only the mean among the unbelievers, and the fools. Pray to God to give you right and sound faith, and the knowledge of God.

The purpose of being one of the faithful, *mu'min*, is to set an example to others, so that they should see and think : " Why should not I be like the *mu'min* ? " Suppress enmity and envy, and do not let hatred come into thy heart, because hatred, envy, and violence deprive the faithful of faith. Purify your hearts of enmity to each other, as it is not right of the faithful to have it in his heart. His heart is the house of God ; or, as the Prophet said,—" the faithful is the Throne of God ". This means that whoever has hatred in his heart, desecrates the house of God. And when the house becomes polluted, the master of the house cannot dwell in it. Thus the faithful loses his faith (*îmân*). Keep away from fanaticism (*ta'aṣṣub*), except in the case of the enemies of the religion. Never tell lies to the friends of the Prophet and of his descendants (*'itrat*) ; and be polite to everybody, always observing the policy of generosity and goodwill,—these three virtues are the hidden axis of all pious deeds. If you quarrel amongst yourselves, do everything possible to secure peace ; make your ideal humility or meekness, —by this you can make your lives and conditions similar to those in the heaven. Do not turn your faces away from those who represent the Imam of the time ; be steady in religion, because this world is only a loan, as stated in the Coran (LVIII, 5) : " That is that ye may believe in God and His Apostle ; and these are the bounds of God ; and for the unbelievers is grievous woe ". [79]

My dear friend, take care of thy soul, and keep away from evil and mischief as much as possible. Do not spoil in your youth the valuable jewel of the soul.

Bâbâ Sayyid-nâ says on this subject[1] : " Limitless praise and thanks are due to the substance of Muḥammad, the chosen from all prophets, who collected the principles of the *sharî'at* of all the law-givers, in accordance with the verse of the Coran (II, 152) : " These, on them are blessings from their Lord and mercy, and they it is who are guided " ; and to the manifestation the One who manifests the substance, which is, as the Prophet said : " I and 'Alî were both a light before God the Allhighest, fourteen thousand years before Adam was created ". And, explaining the things as they are in Reality, on the question of *tawḥîd*, or the profession of God's unity, the Prophet said : " I and 'Alî come from one and the same light, I am 'Alî, and I am

[1] This obviously is a complete quotation of the *muqaddima* of Bâbâ Sayyid-nâ's own work on the *Khuṭbatu'l-bayân* (cf. above, Introduction, III). In the HB Abû Isḥâq only a few isolated sentences from it are given, as far as p. 80, line 14 (of the text).

possess a sincere faith in the *da'wat* of Our Lord. They must be absolutely ready to do any service for him, in accordance with the verse of the Coran (IV, 62): "Obey God, and obey the Apostle of God, and those in authority amongst you". They must regard it their duty to strengthen the religion, so that they may acquire a greater reward for the *da'wat* than other dignitaries. The religion and piety can exist only through the *da'wat*, and the stronger this is, the greater is the reward. It is said in the book called *Naṣâ'iḥ*[1]:

O faithful, obey His command.
It is for this that the Prophet received inspiration from God.

A faithful believer must be pious and self-restrained, as is said in the Coran (XLIX, 13): "Verily, the most honourable of you in the sight of God is the most pious of you". Know that it is necessary for you to follow obediently Him who is the Source of being. Know that God is watching you and is always present, at the time of your walking, or speaking, or sleeping. Live in such a way as not to be ashamed before God, who always sees you; form a habit of being truthful, as it is a cure against misfortune. Pay the tithe of your income to him, because, as the Prophet said, "Payment of the tithe brings blessing upon the property". The faithful must pay one-fifth of his income to the Prophet and his descendants. And every *dînâr*,[2] which is spent in the way of God, every hundred in this world will bring you one thousand in blessing in the future life. And it is stated in the *ḥadîth*: "Whoever gives money as charity for the sake of religion (*ḥasana*), will receive ten times as much in return". This is called the debt of the *ḥasana*. [78] It is said in the Coran (?): "Pray, pay the tax",—and also (LVII, 17): "They have lent to God a goodly loan". And it is said: "A hundred in this world in the next life will become a thousand".—and this is the result of the "goodly loan" (*ḥasana*), as a reward for it.

Helping one's co-religionists and brothers is a fundamental religious duty,—do not become slack in its discharge, as this brings a great spiritual advantage. The purity of thought of the faithful is effected by moderation in food, in talk, and sleep.

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[1] It is impossible to find from this short quotation whether this *Naṣâ'iḥ* has anything to do with the *Naṣâ'iḥi mu'min* (probably for *Naṣâ'iḥu'l-mu'minîn*). The latter is a short Sufico-Ismailitic work, chiefly dealing with ethics, most probably of a late origin. In the HB Abû Isḥâq, where the *bayt* is also quoted, there is no reference to the *Naṣâ'iḥ*. Perhaps also this is not the title of a book, but simply a term conveying the idea: "the poet says in admonition".

[2] The appearance of such an archaic term may be explained, most probably, by its retention from an old work which is here quoted. It is common in the works on *fiqh*, both Sunnite and Shi'ite.

of space, and of Adam, but it became permanent, and was transferred from father to son (*dar nasl*), from the time of Abraham, as is mentioned in the Coran (III, 30): "Verily, God has chosen Adam, and Noah and Abraham's people, and 'Imrân's people above the world",—i.e. "Verily, I have selected Adam and Noah, and 'Imrân's people"; the latter refers to Abû Tâlib, because the "descendants one from the other, till the Day of Judgment" (Cor. III, 30), i.e. the Imams, have been in every period, and continue at present in the *'itrat*, or descendants of the Prophet. The Imam sometimes receives his office by an express appointment, *naṣṣi ṣarîḥ*, sometimes by an implied indication, *naṣṣi khafî*. Therefore it is necessary that the Imam should either appoint as his successor one of his sons, or declare openly that after his death so-and-so is to be the Imam. In addition to this the *naṣṣ* may consist in the Imam's conferring upon one of his sons of something that is definitely associated with Imamat; or he should give instructions to the *asâs*(?),[1] or the Imam should tell this to one of his thoroughly trusted *ḥujjats*, or *dâ'îs*, in a clear and unequivocal way.

Thus the Imams are those who are near God (*muqarrabân*), who are trusted by Him and chosen by Him; and the Shi'ites, or followers of the Imams, are the people who (on the Day of Judgment) will be placed on the right hand. Theirs is the way which is called "good" in the *ḥadîth*: "Those who observe good customs and practices, they will receive a reward, a large reward", i.e. "Whoever teaches the people a good practice, I shall teach him twice as much", etc.,—so that ultimately all these people should act in expectation of the reward for good behaviour.

For these reasons it is necessary that the *ḥujjat*, the *dâ'î*, and the *ma'dhûn* should carry on preaching of the religion (*da'wat*) within the limits of their ability and competence. It is said that if there is even an ant in its hole, and if some benefit to the *da'wat* may be expected [77] from it, the *dâ'î* must sit even years in expectation before that hole, waiting for the chance when that ant comes out: then he should preach to it, as perhaps from that ant the religion (*dîn*) may be strengthened, and he, the *dâ'î*, can share the reward.

These dignitaries are the people who on the Day of Judgment will be placed on the right side; all of them, either the *ḥujjat*, or the *dâ'î*, or *ma'dhûn*, or the *mu'allim*, or the *mustajîb*, must fear God, be chaste, clean in thought, strict in piety, obedient, truthful and sincere, genuinely generous, and must

[1] Here *asâs* is obviously used in a peculiar sense. In Fatimid literature the term *Asâs* is applied to 'Alî only. Here it seems to be merely an equivalent of the *ḥujjat*, or *bâb*, or even *dâ'î*. Cf. further on, p. 97.

"There is no beast that walks upon the earth but its provision is from God. He knows its settlement and its resting-place; all is in the perspicuous book". Since Ismâ'îl knew that Imamat was to remain with his descendants, he agreed to the *naṣṣ* of Mûsâ Kâẓim, so that they were not opposed to each other. It is known to all that, as stated in the book called *Rawḍatu't-taslîm*,[1] when Mûsâ Kâẓim was imprisoned by the caliphs of Baghdad, his enemies told him that his brother, Imam Ismâ'îl, was trying to usurp his position. He replied: "How can you tell such lies,—he is the one appointed by God and by the Prophet, by the verse of the Coran (III, 30): Descending one from the other, and God hears and knows". He then prayed for Ismâ'îl, saying: "God, do not deprive my descendants of the blessing of the descendants of Ismâ'îl". This is narrated in the book called *'Umdatu't-ṭâlib*,[2] which is one of the (most) reliable works on the descendants of the Prophet. [76]

This case exactly resembles that of the prophets Isḥâq and Ismâ'îl.[3] So many descendants of Isḥâq have perished, and ultimately the office of prophethood and of Imamat remained in the progeny of Ismâ'îl. We must now overcome our inclinations either to see things in a wrong light, or to disregard them, and must see that both are one and the same thing,—one does not exclude the other.

Remember that thou must obey and follow the Imam of the time; thou must be prompt to do everything that he orders. The office of Imamat existed before the creation of the world,

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1 In the copy of the *Rawḍatu't-taslîm*, by Naṣîru'd-dîn Ṭûsî (cf. JRAS, 1931, pp. 527–564), which is at my disposal at present, there is nothing mentioned about Mûsâ Kâẓim. There are, however, two doubtful points about this: it is impossible to be sure that the text really never contained any mention of Mûsâ Kâẓim, and that such mention was not intentionally omitted by the scribe. And there may be some doubts as to this *Rawḍatu't-taslîm* being the same work as referred in the text, because in the *Ṣaḥîfatu'n-nâẓirîn*, which is probably nothing but a simplified version of this supposed to be Ṭûsî's work, it is called, in the 26th *Ṣaḥîfa*,—*Rawḍatu'l-muta'allimîn*, and thus the *Rawḍatu't-taslîm* mentioned here may be quite a different treatise.

2 In the *'Umdatu't-ṭâlib* (cf. above, Introduction, III), pp. 208-209 of the Bombay lithogr. ed. of 1318, the story is quite different from this. There is nothing, of course, about the relations between Ismâ'îl and Mûsâ, as the latter was not appointed the Imam until Ismâ'îl died, but there is much about the rivalry between him and the son of Ismâ'îl, Muhammad. The attitude of Mûsâ Kâẓim to his nephew appears to have been not as idyllic as our author represents it. The details of the story, which is given here, are omitted in the HB Abû Isḥâq.

3 It is remarkable that Ismâ'îl, obviously the son of Abraham, who always is regarded as the *Waṣî*, or the Imam, of Abraham's *dawr*, and is mentioned so often in this work, suddenly appears here as "*payghambar*", i.e. prophet, quite in accordance with the Sunnite orthodox view. The passage is omitted in the HB Abû Isḥâq, and thus it may be yet another later interpolation.

In another poem :

If the seas become ink, and all trees—reed pens,
If the seven heavens become paper, and Jabra'îl the one who offers praise,
If all the *Jinns* and men were to write the praise to the Shâh,—
Not even one point out of a thousand would be recorded.

It is necessary to know that the Imam is the ruler of the religion, and gives orders with regard to whatever he thinks is beneficial to the religious life or to the welfare of the people. His nature belongs to the realm of the greatest and most impenetrable mystery, and to the wisdom of the eternal infallible commandments, as stated in the *hadîth* : " If the earth were to remain without the Imam even for a while, it would perish ", as he is the centre of the heavens and of the earth, and the world cannot exist without him. [75]

Now we have to explain the difference between the real hereditary Imam, *mustaqarr*, and the temporarily acting Imam, *mustawda'*. The difference between them exists only in so far as the question of inheritance is concerned, as in the case of Imam Hasan and Imam Husayn.

The "personal" Imam, *mustawda'*, is a son of the Imam, the oldest, if there are several of them, who also knows all the mysteries of Imamat, and so long as he discharges his duty he is the greatest of all people of his time. But he is not endowed with the privilege of transmitting his Imamat to his descendants, who can never become Imams, only Sayyids.

The ordinary Imam, *mustaqarr*, is endowed with all the privileges of Imamat, and transmits them to his successors. After 'Alî ibn Abî Tâlib the Imam was Imam Hasan, who was only a personal Imam [1]; then Imam Husayn, the hereditary Imam, *mustaqarr*. After him Imam Zaynu'l-'âbidîn, then Muhammad Bâqir, then Imam Ja'far Sâdiq ; after him Imam Mûsâ Kâzim, on the same conditions as Imam Hasan after (Imam) 'Alî,[2]—he had not the privilege of transmitting the *nass*, or heritage. After him Imam Ismâ'îl,[3] who was an absolute Lord (*az arbâbi itlâq*),—his vision was directed to the Absolute Contemplated (*Manzûri Mutlaq*). He did not follow the same practices as the followers of the letter of the law (*shar'*). And this is no defect at all in the realm of the Reality, as is stated in the Coran (XI, 8) :

[1] Cf. above, p. 41.
[2] Cf. above, pp. 18 and 42.
[3] It is really strange to see such persistent and obstinate disregard of history. The author was surely acquainted with the fact that the appointment of Mûsâ Kâzim was due to the premature death of Imam Ismâ'îl. Why should he pervert the facts, and for what purpose, -seems really puzzling.

in creation, and he attains a high degree of honour, in accordance with the verse of the Coran (XCV, 4): "We have indeed created man in the best of symmetry". He becomes then one of the people of the "right hand", to whom will belong (Cor. XCVIII, 7) "gardens of Eden (which they shall enter), beneath which the rivers flow,—they will live there forever".

Praise be to God, and thanks to Him, that this knowledge of the Real Truth (*ḥaqîqat*) is so widespread nowadays that those who hear it, are unable to refute it, and many of those who denied it have now accepted it. Let us hope that they, by the generosity and the mercy of Our Lord, will gain complete faith, becoming members of the community of those who sit in rows waiting for orders at the door of the *Dîwâni taqarrub*, i.e. "Palace of easy access", as important and intimate servants, in the Abode of trustfulness.

After the Prophet his *Waṣî*, Executor, solves all the difficulties which arise in his community, preventing the people from falling into error, disobeying, or rebelling. After himself he appoints another Imam, and transfers to him the knowledge of the mysteries. Such *Waṣîs* were six in number, each with every *Nâṭiq*: Seth at the time of Adam, Sâm at the time of Noah, Ismâ'îl at the time of Abraham, Aaron [74] at the time of Moses, *Sham'ûnu'ṣ-ṣafâ* (Simon) at the time of Jesus, and the Commander of the Faithful at the time of Muḥammad.

The Commander of the Faithful 'Alî was the greatest amongst all prophets and saints, pious and holy. Concerning him there are many direct indications in the Coran and in the *ḥadîths*, such as the *sûras* "*Tabâraka*", "*Yâ-sîn*", "*Hal atâ*", and the verses like "*Al-lâh nûru's-samawât wa'l-arḍ*"; the *sûra* "*In-nâ anzalnâ*" is also about him, as God said that just as the month of Ramaḍân is better than a thousand other months, so the Imam of the time is greater than a thousand prophets and apostles.

This means that the light of Prophethood is derived from the light of *walâyat* (i.e. Imamship). Is there any honour that can equal what the Prophet said about 'Alî: "My flesh is from thy flesh, my blood is from thy blood, my body is from thy body, and my spirit is from thy spirit"? And there is a *ḥadîth* about Mawlà-nâ 'Alî: "I am the city of knowledge, and 'Alî is its gate".

I heard that he (the Prophet) uttered the words similar to jewels,
In the *ḥadîth* making the spirit to rise, uttered by his ruby-like lips:
"I am the city of knowledge, and 'Alî is its gate,"—
What an honouring *ḥadîth* (in favour of the one) whose watch-dog at the door I am.

All that is given in a condensed form in that first emanation (*tajallî*),[1] is here given in detail, in accordance with the verse: "God the Merciful created Adam in resemblance of His own form."[2]

When we sent Adam out,
We put Our own beauty in the desert.

In accordance with a *ḥadîth*, God said: "I was a hidden treasure, and wanted to become known, so I created the creatures, so as to become known to them". This means that God the Most High says: "I was hidden, and wanted to become manifest, then I created the Universal Reason and the Universal Spirit (*'Aqli kull wa Nafsi kull*). And out of love for these two Lights I created the world and the people of this world, so that I might become manifest,--and I attained what I desired."

The Perfect Man was the crown of all creation, being a manifestation of the Divine attributes of Beauty and Greatness; he accepted the burden of responsibility. A truthful wise man[3] says concerning this: **[73]**

The Heaven could not take up the burden of the responsibility,
The fateful die then fell to my humble name.

Man comprises the whole (*jâmi'a*) of the Reality (*ḥaqîqat*), in the sense that what is in a great mass diffused in the Macrocosmos, all this in nucleus is contained in man. This means that whatever is found in space (*âfâq*), is found in the soul (*anfus*). The man who attains the knowledge of the Imam of his time becomes an intimate servant of the Abode of the Divine Glory. Then he finds the path of happiness in both worlds, which is the knowledge of himself, and which is composed of the knowledge of the beginning of existence, and its ultimate purpose (*mabda' wa ma'âd*). It is said in a reliable *ḥadîth*: "Whoever attains knowledge of himself, he has already attained the knowledge of his Lord".

Become a knower of thy own nature,--
Then be the first amongst men.[4]

As soon as one attains the knowledge of self, he attains the knowledge of the Imam of his time, his standing becomes high

[1] The term *tajallî* is used in Sufic philosophy, and apparently is never used in the early *ḥaqâ'iq* works in Fatimid literature (which employs *inbi'âth*).

[2] Cf. above, p. 55, note 1.

[3] The wise man in question is the famous Persian poet Ḥâfiẓ Shîrâzî (d. 791/1389).

[4] This *bayt* belongs to the *Rawshanâ'î-nâma* of Nâṣiri Khusraw (p. 528, verse 7 of the Tehran printed edition).

intimate trustees of the Abode of the Divine Union; the Creator has given them the name of the associates (*muqarrabân*), according to the verses of the Coran (LVI, 10-11): "And the foremost, —the foremost are those who are brought nigh". They are beyond Paradise and Hell, and are allowed, after having witnessed the beauty of the Divine irresistible Might (*jabarût*), to be the witnesses of the world of the Divine Power (*malakût*). They are prophets and saints (*awliyâ*), and it is said about them:

> I will not go to Paradise until I see Thy beautiful countenance,—
> Of what use is Paradise for me if the Beloved is not there? [1]

When some one of the second group, i.e. the sinful ones, even in appearance (*ba-ṣûrat*) believes in Muḥammad and his posterity, as stated in the Coran (III, 30), "Descending one from the other, and God is the One who hears and knows", or, in accordance with the verse (IV, 62): "O ye who believe, obey God, and obey the Apostle, and those in authority amongst you", and gives an outward testimony, [72] supporting this by the faith of the heart, he, though he has sinned (accidentally), after suffering punishment for some time, will be defended by the Prophet and his descendants, the intimate trustees (of God). By their intercession such a person will be saved, and will not remain for ever in the state of those who are being eternally punished.

Those who do not believe in all sincerity, who do not obey the Imams, and, perhaps, do not recognize the Imam of their time, are the *munkirs*, or unbelievers, and their place is in Hell for ever. If they do not attain the knowledge of the Imam of their time, or the knowledge of their own selves (*nafs*) (?),[2] they die as heathens, contrary to what is the case with the good, as God mentioned in the Coran (XCV, 5): "Then We will send them to the lowest of the low". And it was said before this: "We have created man in the best of form. If he does not recognize himself, We send him to the lowest of the low",—God save us from this! [3]

> If thou dost not recognize the Imam of thy time as the Truth itself,
> Thou wilt go to Hell, even if thou wert obedient for a thousand years.[4]

[1] The same *bayt* is quoted on p. 111 (text).

[2] In another place, see p. 68, it is stated, in accordance with the well-known Sufic *ḥadîth*, that whosoever acquires the knowledge of himself, he, through this, acquires the knowledge of God.

[3] Here the "fifth *mas'ala*" ends, and the text of the HB Abû Isḥâq again begins to agree.

[4] The same quotation appears on pp. 62 and 63 (text).

connection with the special requirements of their times, some prophets and Imams introduce new practices, peculiar to themselves; and subsequently one of them, also for the benefit of some special requirements of the time, acts against the prescriptions of his predecessors. It is necessary to recognize each of these two contradictory orders in its proper time, and to follow the one which was ordered at the time in question, in order to be a faithful follower, as is stated in the Coran (IV, 62): "O ye who believe! obey God, and obey the Apostle, and those in authority amongst you". So that one should not become one of the disobedient or deceiving, about whom God said (XXV, 46): "Nay, they err more from the way",—God save us from this!

The fifth question [1] is that about the *ma'âd*, or the future life. This belief implies the return of the individual soul to its source, in one of these three ways:

The first is that of the souls of the good and obedient, whose good deeds in the world **[71]** outweigh their bad: those who are not criminals, heretics (*mulḥid*), or irreligious people, who in this world did not neglect matters pertaining to the future life, and never attached more importance to matters of this world than to those of that. Those who always spent their time in worshipping God, in doing meritorious deeds, in carefully following the prescriptions for the life in this world and in that, and being perfectly obedient; and this is the virtue of the faithful which is something like the "Lote-tree of the last eternal limit" (*Sidratu'l-muntahâ*) of those who possess religious knowledge. The people who act thus are called the people of the right hand, or of the right wing; they are the pious and righteous, the well-behaving, those who recognize the Imam of their time, as is said in the Coran (IV, 87): "Whoso associates (himself) sincerely, shall have his share therefrom". Their virtues will be rewarded in Paradise, in the manner we have explained.

The second variety of the people is called the people of the left hand, or wing. They are seekers after the wealth and pleasures of this world, evil-doers, and offenders against themselves, and those who do not obey the orders of the Imams and the prophets; as the Prophet said: "This world is like carrion, and only dogs are after it". Such people will go to Hell, which is to be their reward, as promised in the Coran.

The third kind of people are the heirs of the palace of Unity, the chosen servants of the Throne of the Almighty, and the

[1] No other *mas'ala* is so far mentioned, nor is any mentioned later on. It is obvious that this passage is taken from some other work, and the author forgot to strike out the heading. As an indirect proof of this conjecture it appears that in the HB Abû Isḥâq this passage is omitted (as far as p. 72, line 9 of the text).

not deteriorate. Such (a system of) commandments and prohibitions is called *shar'*, or law, and him who gives the law they call *ṣâḥibi shar'*. The wisdom (*ḥikmat*) of God decides whom to send at each particular time, so that he may bring his book, which cancels the book and the *sharî'at* of his predecessor. Whenever such is the order of God, it is the duty of the faithful to believe in the book and the *sharî'at* of the prophet who cancels the law of those who came before him. The meaning of the *naskh*, or cancellation, is making it futile ; if the *sharî'at* is cancelled, it becomes useless, one has to abandon it, and to believe in the new prophet. The real prophet is he of whom God said (XXXIII, 40) : " Muḥammad is not the father of any of your men, but the Apostle of God, and the final prophet ". He is also the one who gives the law, the rules of the spiritual progress (*ṭarîqat*), the knowledge of the Reality (*ḥaqîqat*), and the absolute knowledge of God (*ma'rifat*). All these forms of knowledge are found in his descendants : they always were found, and are found at present ; and all his miracles, such as the *Mi'râj*, or ascension to heaven, the splitting of the moon (by his finger), etc.,— all are true.

Whoever believes in a way different from this, and whoever objects to his *sharî'at*, without the order of the Lord of the time, becomes a *kâfir* : and even if he repents, his repentence will never be accepted. In reality he is following the evil instincts of himself, thus becoming disobedient and a *kâfir*, in accordance with the utterance of the Prophet : " Whoever dies without recognizing the Imam of his time, dies as a *kâfir*, and the place of the *kâfir* is in Hell, even if he is a Jew, Christian, or Zoroastrian ". [70] This is because when there is no prophet or law-giver in the world, his people may be under various illusions (*ṣûrat-hâ*) ; if these are not destroyed by the Imam of the time, it is possible that all the people may become *kâfirs*,—God save us from this ! He, the Imam, saves the mysteries of the prophets from oblivion, and with the help of these mysteries he calls to God all the people, in accordance with every one's capability of understanding, and teaches them the knowledge of God.

Such true Imams after the Prophet are the Commander of the Faithful 'Alî, and his descendants, till the Day of Resurrection. Whoever believes otherwise, is a *kâfir*, in accordance with what was said by the Prophet : " Whoever follows a religious leader other than 'Alî ibn Abî Ṭâlib, and his lineal rightful descendants, he is a cursed unbeliever, even if he is a faithful follower of 'Îsâ b. Maryam ".

With regard to what we said about the religions of the earlier prophets being cancelled, it should be noted that the commandments of the earlier Imams also can be cancelled ; this has happened on many occasions. It happens that, in

and his *dâ'îs*. "There will be a guide (*ḥujjat*) to the people [after the Prophet]."[1] But it happens sometimes that the Imam, even during his personal manifestation (*ẓuhûr*), commissions the *ḥujjat* to carry on the *da'wat*; but it is impossible for both the Imam and his *ḥujjat* to be hidden. At the time of the *Qiyâmati qiyâmât*, when everything will be revealed, there will be no hindrance, either belonging to the physical world, the *ẓâhir*, or to the spiritual sphere, the *bâṭin*, before the eyes of the people; then neither the *ḥujjat*, nor other dignitaries will be manifest, the *Qâ'im* will be then himself the source (*wujûd*) of everything.

In the book called *Kanzu'l-gharâ'ib* it is stated that the true prophets and the righteous saints came into this world by the order of God; they were Divinely supported, and instructed by Him, thus acting on His behalf, their mission being necessary (*wâjib*) to Him. The world cannot remain in order without the presence of prophets and their lieutenants. If all actions of mankind have to be regarded as proper and permissible (*kardanî*), it would result in the world's being ruined because then we would have to regard everything as lawful: murder, rape, all possible grave crimes, and even the slaughtering of all human beings by each other, as these are actions which a human being can do; and if every action were lawful, then these would be lawful too. Yet, if every (independent) action were prohibited and prevented from being done, life would be impossible,--both these extremities are impossible and absurd.

No one, except the Real Actor, knows for certain what action is lawful, and what is not. **[69]** It is therefore necessary to God, in the system of his created world, to select someone from amongst mankind, and to endow him with the knowledge of the value of actions, through the Divine inspiration (*ilhâm*) and revelation (*waḥy*). Those who get their knowledge of the commandments of God, and the standard of actions through revelation (*waḥy*), are called prophets, and those who receive it through inspiration (*ilhâm*), are the Imams and saints (*awliyâ*). They order the people to act in such a way that they separate good actions from bad, showing which are good and which are bad; then they command them to do those which are regarded as good, and prohibit the doing of those which are bad, so that the world should attain an orderly state, and should

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1 This is apparently a portion of Cor. II, 145, but the last words *ba'da'r-Rasûl*, are not found in the original. We may recall that the original verse deals with the commandment to turn towards Mecca at the time of prayer, so that "men may have no argument (*ḥujjat*) against you", etc. The author, as usual, gives it quite a different meaning. In the HB Abû Isḥâq the quotation begins correctly, with *li-al-lâ*, but the words *ba'da'r-Rasûl* are also added.

Thou committest sins on the earth, and thou dost not know,
That the moon in the heaven becomes eclipsed due to thy evil acts.

This happens when Our Lord looks at them with anger; and the return of the period of his manifestation (*kashf*) comes from his mercy, when he looks at his slaves with kindness. The period of manifestation and presence of the Imam is like day, and the Bearer of the Truth (*Muḥiqq*) is like the sun; the period of occultation is like night. His *ḥujjat* is like the moon, the *dâ'îs* are like stars. At night, when the sun is hidden, the light comes only from the moon and from the stars. So, during the period of the *satr*, or occultation, when the people of truth cannot come directly in touch with the sacred person of the Truth-giver (*Muḥiqq*), they can find the way to the right faith in obedience to, and knowledge of, the persons who at that time are deputed by the Imam. Such are the greatest *ḥujjat*, the *bâb*, or the sacred "gate" to his knowledge, **[68]** as is said:

The path to him lies through the heart of the *ḥujjat*;
The *ḥujjat* knows everything by the direct Divine help (*ta'yîd*) to his heart.

At the period of the hidden (*mastûr*) Imams, during the first period of *satr*, which arrived soon after the death of the Prophet and of his *Waṣî*, the *ḥujjat* was 'Abdu'l-lâhi Qaddâḥ [1]; and in the second period of *satr* the *ḥujjat* was Bâbâ Sayyid-nâ.[2] And the eternal Light, Mawlâ-nâ Hâdî was he whose mysteries were known to Bâbâ Sayyid-nâ.

As at day-time the stars do not give light when the sun is in the sky, so at the time of Mawlâ-nâ 'Alî Salmân did not preach in his favour. At every period of the manifestation, the faithful must recognize the Bearer of the Truth (*Muḥiqq*) and learn his message (*sirr*) from those who are entrusted with preaching (*da'wat*) in his favour, as he is in reality, and as in the relative form (*dar ḥaqîqat wa iḍâfat*). And in the period of the *satr*, or occultation, his great *da'wat* is in charge of his *ḥujjat*

[1] In the HB Abû Isḥâq is given 'Abdu'l-lâhi Maymûni Qaddâḥ. References to him in Ismaili works are found very rarely. In a late work (belonging to Fatimid tradition) on esoteric Ismailism, the *Zahru'l-ma'ânî*, by Sayyid-nâ Idrîs (d. 872/1468), 'Abdu'l-lâh is regarded as a descendant of Salmân Fârsî.

[2] Cf. HB Bâbâ Sayyid-nâ, p. 20 of the orig. MS, where he is called "the great *ḥujjat* of the *Qâ'im* of the *Qiyâmat* and the Jesus of the *dawr* of Resurrection". It may be noted that this title of *ḥujjat* has nothing to do with the same title as it was used under the Fatimids; this one conveys only the idea of the mystical lieutenant of the Imam whose office was introduced into the Ismaili doctrine only by the Nizârîs, after the split. Cf. above, note 2 on p. 44.

after such a manifestation, as a trial for the slaves. If the followers of the Imam are not the people of unshakeable faith and seekers after the truth and knowledge, their hearts will go, and they shall become like lunatics. But if they firmly believe, and seek for the Truth, they shall attain perfect knowledge (of the Imam) ; they will know that Our Lord the *Qâ'im* of the *Qiyâmat* always *is* present in the world, always *was*, and always *will be*. [67]

Sometimes he is manifest, and sometimes hidden, sometimes in the form of a father, and sometimes in the form of a son, or a child, or a youth, or an old man, and at other times in the womb of his mother,—

> 'Alî was he who, still being in the womb of his mother,
> Told the Prophet in his ears the meaning of the Coran, by heart.

God the Allhighest said in the Coran (LVII, 3): "He is the first and the last, the manifest and the hidden, and knows everything" :

> Sometimes he becomes an old man, or child, or youth ;
> Sometimes he goes to the heaven in a *mi'râj*, sometimes he goes into an abyss ;
> What worry to a knowing man, even if He comes up in a hundred forms,
> Sometimes as Mustanṣir, and sometimes as Salâmu'l-lâh.[1]

All this he reveals in such a way as to suit the understanding of mankind, in order that the world should remain. The people, being unable to see what is beyond their own selves, would be otherwise unable to know their Imam, and would not find a way to him. And if it were not so, as is said :

> Before the creation of the world, so many thousands years,
> There already were Muṣṭafâ and 'Alî, sitting together,[2]

—there would be no unchangeability in the realm of the Divinity and Godhead; thus they appear to mankind in this way.

Sometimes it happens that a period of the concealment of the Imam (*satr*), and of the hiding of the real faith (*taqiyya*) arrives owing to the heaviness of the sins of the faithful, as is said :

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[1] Cf. Introduction, I. This reference to Mustanṣir obviously must be considered together with another reference, on p. 103, in which he is mentioned in the terms implying his being the Imam of the time. These verses appear also in the HB Abû Isḥâq.

[2] The same quotation appears on p. 38 (text).

And Our Lord, the *Qâ'im* of the *qiyâmats*,—prostration and glory be due to him!—is the Lord of all things in existence; he is the Lord who is the Absolute Existence; He is all,—there is no existence outside of him; all that is comes from him. He opened the gates of his mercy, making all, by the light of his knowledge, see, hear, speak, and live in eternity; praise and glory are due to him for his generosity,—every one who knows has to render it! Extolled in the extreme is that One, the Glorified One, whose essence is knowledge!

And then he delivered a speech, beginning with: "*Dhakartu fî-hi mâ'ltamasa-hu Sayyidu'n-nubl*" . . . And then he read an epistle beginning with: "*Naḥnu'l-ḥâḍirûn al-mawjûdûn* . . ."

With the help of the Lord, the *Qâ'imu'l-qiyâmat*, we will write some paragraphs about the date of the Great Resurrection (*Qiyâmati qiyâmât*), as predicted by prophets and leaders of the religion, as all of them gave information about it, and offered indications [1]; also we will write a note on, and the translation of the address (*khuṭba*) of the Lord, explaining it as far as this humble slave of the rightful and rightly guided religion of Ismailism,—God make it firm in the Eastern lands of the earth and in the Western!—can understand. All this will be mentioned in those "Blessed chapters" on behalf of Our Lord. We will now take up the question of the period of *satr*, or occultation, and of *kashf*, or manifestation.

In the time of every prophet who laid the foundation of the new religion, the Imam manifested himself in his own holy substance (*dhâti muqaddas*). The prophets had to point him out to the people. The periods of occultation, *satr*, had to come

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four corners of the *minbar* four banners were placed; the *murîds* from Khorasan were placed at the right side, the people from 'Irâqi 'Ajam at the left, and the people from Daylamân, Rûdbâr and Barda' (?)— in front, in the middle of the square. He ordered the *faqîh* Muḥammad Bustî to ascend the *kursî*, and to sit on it. And then he, Lord of thousands of worlds and of men, Mawlâ-nâ Ḥasan *'alâ dhikri-hi's-salâm* himself, dressed in white, and with a white turban on his head, descended from the Fort of Alamût, about noon, and very slowly approached from the right of the *minbar*, and ascended it. Then he thrice said greetings to the people: first to the Daylamites, then to those on the right, and then to those on the left. He sat for a while on the *minbar*, then rose again, and, holding his sword, he said in a loud voice: "O ye, the inhabitants of the world, Jinns, men and angels! Know and be aware that this day is called the Day of Union. And whoever will follow the orders will be saved from the punishment of the Day of Judgment. Now you have to carry the news of these orders of Our Lord to all the faithful (*mu'minân*), so that they may understand them and obey them."

[1] It is not clear whether he has really written such a work. In the HB Abû Isḥâq the text literally agrees in this passage, but instead of the first person Plur. of the Future tense is used the expression *nuwishta and*. This does not tally with the next sentence which again literally agrees with our text, and contains the words: *ba-qadrî ki în kamtarîni bandagân . . . râ ma'lûm bûda bâshad.*

At the time of Jesus Our Lord was called Ma'add,[1] and at the time of our Prophet he was called *Mawlâ-nâ* 'Alî, *li-dhikri-hi's-sujûd*.

What Jesus meant by promising to come back, to complete the purpose of the *Qiyâmat*, and to show God to the people, was an allusion to 'Alî. The Prophet said that 'Alî ibn Abî Ṭâlib is to come at the Day of the Judgment, and to raise alone the banner of the *Qiyâmat*.

All the Imams are Mawlâ-nâ 'Alî himself, all of them are contained (*mundarij*) in him,—

"as a candle is lighted from another candle".[2]

All of them are one in their unique substance; the Imam may appear sometimes as a youth, sometimes as an old man, and at another time as a child,—this is in order that the world should remain as it is. He is the manifestation of all mysteries, and he manifests himself in thirty thousand different guises; every day he looks (*naẓar mî-kunad*) thirty thousand times on his creations so that the world should remain in order.

The "Resurrection of (all) resurrections", *Qiyâmati qiyâmât*, promised by all prophets and saints, was this: the Lord of the eighteen thousand worlds, Our Lord Ḥasan *'alâ dhikri-hi's-salâm*, was pleased to manifest himself in all his glory in the fort of Alamût,[3] as he said himself in the course of his address (*khuṭba*): "Rise, for the *Qiyâmat* has arrived! Verily, the expectation of the sign has come true, and it is this: the *Qiyâmat* which is the end of all *qiyâmats*, has arrived,—the day when one ceases to know through indications and signs; the day when one ceases to know from revelations, from sayings of saints, and their indications, and when bodies are engaged in worship; the day when the actions, the speeches, the guiding signs [66] and the indications have reached their final and ultimate goal. Whoever by his own eyes sees the Original Substance, he has seen all the revelations and all the Divine signs; but whoever perceives it through its names and attributes, he is misled and confused, and prevented (from real knowledge)."[4]

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[1] So also in the *Rawḍatu't-taslîm* (cf. "An Ismailitic Work by Nasiru'd-din Tusi", JRAS, 1931, p. 559), in the HB Bâbâ Sayyid-nâ (orig. MS, p. 11), etc., while the *Kalâmi Pîr* in other places (57, 74, 102) prefers *Sham'ûnu's-safâ*.

[2] Omitted in the HB Abû Isḥâq.

[3] Cf. above, Introduction, II.

[4] Read: *wa man adraka-hu bi-asmâ'i-hi wa ṣifâti-hi wa huwa*.... More details of the proclamation of the *Qiyâmatu'l-qiyâmât* are given in the HB Bâbâ Sayyid-nâ, p. 21; the account, given in the HB Abû Isḥâq, is worth quoting in full (for the text see Appendix):

"On the seventeenth day of the blessed month of Ramadân of the year 559 (8-VIII-1164), at the hour of the constellation Virgo, when the sun was in the sign of Cancer, he ordered that on the square of Alamût a *minbar*, or preaching chair, should be erected, facing the West. At the

and said that after him there would be no other *sharî'at*, it necessarily follows that the Great Resurrection, the *Qiyâmati qiyâmât*, is to come (at the end) of his period (*dawr*).

The indications given by all prophets and by all religions are similar to this. At the time of Adam Our Lord was called Malik Shûlîm, i.e. Seth; the followers of Adam are called *Jâniba* [1]; they say that Malik Shûlîm is to return on the Last Day, when he will give his commandments to the people, and explain those mysteries of God's wisdom which are hidden in the *sharî'at*. The events that took place in the story of Adam and Iblîs, and all that happened, were connected with him.

At the time of Noah Our Lord was called Malik Yazdâq; and his followers are called Barâhîm [2]; they believe that he is to return on the last Day, to give his commandments, and to send the deserving people to Paradise, and the sinful to Hell. Noah complained to him that some people did not accept his teaching (*da'wat*), so he gave orders that all should be drowned in the *zâhir* of the *sharî'at*. So all were drowned, only those were saved who stuck to the Ark of Noah. Said the Prophet: "My legitimate successors (*dhurriyyat*) are like the Ark of Noah: whoever abides in it, is saved, and whoever keeps away from it is drowned".[3]

At the time of Abraham Our Lord was called Maliku's-salâm; and even to-day this truthful community invoke him in their prayers. The community of Abraham are called Gabrs, and they also believe that Maliku's-salâm is to return on the Last Day. The story of Abraham's looking at the stars, the moon and the sun refer to the *dâ'î*, the *bâb*, and the *ḥujjat*. He never rested until he saw Our Lord, and when he saw him, [65] he served the Lord, and paid to him the tithe. Zoroaster was a *ḥujjat* of Our Lord, who appeared at the end of the period of Abraham.

At the time of Moses Our Lord was called Dhû'l-qarnayn. The story of his seeing at night the Light over the tree means the *ẓâhir* of the *sharî'at*. The tree is man, or person, and the Light means the profession of monotheism and the unity of Our Lord. Moses used to call Our Lord *Shanba*, the Sabbath.[4]

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[1] Cf. the *Haft-bâbi Bâbâ Sayyid-nâ*, pp. 10–13 (pp. 8–12 according to the original MS), where exactly the same matters are dealt with. Instead of this *Jâniba*, which seems very strange, it gives the correct *Sâbiyya*. It seems obvious that in the original this word was written without diacritical dots, and this caused the scribe to make a mistake.

[2] In the HB Bâbâ Sayyid-nâ (see the preceding note), original MS, p. 9, is given a more correct form, *Barâhîma*, i.e. Brahmans.

[3] This is a well-known Shi'ite *ḥadîth*,—it is often quoted in the works of Ibn Bâbûya al-Qummî.

[4] In the HB Bâbâ Sayyid-nâ (orig. MS, p. 10) it appears that Moses himself was so called.

All the past Imams agree in regarding as the goal of everything its attainment of perfection. In the "Blessed chapters" (*Fuṣûli mubârak*) it is stated that the *qiyâmat* is eternal in nature, and the substance of the *Qâ'im* always is present in the world, at every period of time. The perfecting of the religions and sects depends on him, and nothing can last without him, because (only) he can distinguish properly and explain the real meaning of the *sharî'at*, which is allegorical in its form.

We have already explained that every prophet who comes into this world to lay the foundation of a new religion, must appoint some one to lead the people out of the allegories and to show them the way towards (real) unitarianism (*waḥdat*). Such a person is the *Qâ'im* of the Resurrection, and he has to exist always :

> Under the rule of the *sharî'at* the people seek for him in the heavens ;
> But the Light of His manifestation is always apparent on the earth.[1]

Otherwise the people of this world would (always) remain with the belief in allegories only.

The *Qiyâmati qiyâmât*, or "Resurrection of resurrections", is when the *Qâ'im* manifests himself, with his punishing sword of Unity, to all the peoples of the world. With the first blow of the trumpet he will make all the people die, and with the second blow, by the hand of his almightiness, he will make them all alive again, and they will gain eternal life, the unending and Divine existence.[2]

And in the "Blessed chapters" (*Fuṣûli mubârak*) by the Lord of the Earth and of Heaven, Our Lord Abû'l-Ḥasan[3] *'alâ dhikri-hi's-salâm* it is stated: "We said that we would kill with the punishing sword of greatness and unity (*waḥdat*) all the people of the world. On one occasion we killed some of them, and on another occasion we kept our promise, so that everything was fulfilled (*bâ sarî shud*); and we also killed Death, and made all alive again.[4] Then by the eternity of the Eternally Extant, and by the existence of the Necessarily Eternal, we have taken the earth and the skies of the *sharî'at* off, and spread the earth and the skies of the Real Existence (*ḥaqîqat*)."

[64] It is stated in the Coran (XIV, 49): "On the day when the earth shall be changed for another earth, and the heavens too". As Muṣṭafâ came at the beginning of the last millennium,

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1 Omitted in the HB Abû Isḥâq.

2 Cf. a quotation of the poetry ascribed to Khwâja Naṣîr (Ṭûsî ?) in the *Ma'dinu'l-ḥaqâ'iq*, fol. 10 (*Ismailitica*, I, pp. 19 and 36).

3 Usually his name is given as simply Ḥasan. In the HB Abû Isḥâq his name is omitted: *Khudâwand 'alâ dhikri-hi's-salâm*.

4 Again a purely Christian idea.

They asked: "And who is His Man of the time?" He replied: "His deputy (*gumâshta*), i.e. the Imam of the time, is the Proof (*ḥujjat*) of God the Allhighest; he is sent down to mankind, as mankind cannot have (any other) proof". They asked: "What is the knowledge of God?" He replied: "Knowledge of God is the knowledge of the Imam of the time". One of the Imams said: "What is said about God, is (also) said about us".[1]

And with regard to the fact that he,—exalted and extolled be He,—is called the *Qâ'im* of Resurrection, we must say that he, the Imam, possesses all the open and hidden properties of God (*ẓuhûr wa buṭûni Khudâ*). Every thing that is found in this world has its beginning, necessarily or otherwise, as well as its end; and everything that has no end has no beginning, because the beginning is only a counterpart of the end, and the end is the end only in relation to the beginning.

The different religions and sect have their origin in relation to the influences of the changing conditions of the world. Religions and sects also have a beginning and an end. This is obvious from the *ḥadîth*: "From father to son, generation after generation,—whosoever seeks after something shall find it; he shall find it as having been already possessed by his ancestors, in the life of people. Verily, the earth is never left without a true leader (*ḥujjat*) of God the Allhighest". It means that God said: "We made him Our proof amongst men, beginning with his ancestors, by a transmission of the appointment in the office (*naṣṣ*), generation after generation, descendant after descendant". God the Allhighest said (Cor., LVIII, 5): "That is that ye may believe in God and His Apostle; and these are the bounds (*ḥudûd*) of God; and for the unbelievers is grievous woe". This means: every one who transgresses the *ḥudûd*, or the exalted bounds, becomes an unbeliever. He will receive a painful punishment,—God forbid! **[63]** As a poet says:

> If thou dost not recognize as true the Imam of the time,
> Thou wilt go to Hell, regardless of a hundred thousand (years) of devotion.[2]

Thus it follows that everything has to have a limit; and in the same way the religion introduced by every *Nâṭiq* has to be cancelled and replaced by a new religion. As it is inevitable that every religion has to have a beginning, it has also to have an end. Such an end of the religion or sect is called its *qiyâmat*, or the Day of Judgement, and the final end of several religions is called *qiyâmatu'l-qiyâmât*; the person through whom this is effected is called the *Qâ'im* of the *Qiyâmat*.

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[1] The name of the Imam who said this is omitted in both versions.
[2] The same quotation is also given on pp. 62 and 72 (text).

[61] Imam of the time, and the *Qâ'im* of the Day of Resurrection. The name Our Lord (*Mawlâ-nâ*) is one of the greatest names of God. It is stated in the Coran (II, 286) "Thou art Our Lord". And (IX, 51) "and He is Our Lord". And (XLVII, 12) "and Allah is the Lord of those who believe".

The meaning of the expression "Our Lord", *Mawlâ-nâ*, is the Lord of the world,—exalted and extolled be He!—who is called also the Imam of the time. The meaning of the Imam is the leader, or the head, and the leader is one whose commands and orders are obeyed by others, as all the slaves have to obey the orders and the commands of their lord. It is also stated in the Coran (XLVIII, 18): "God was well pleased with the believers when they did swear allegiance to thee beneath the tree", i.e. said God the Allhighest: "I am pleased with those of my slaves who take the oath of allegiance under the tree of Ṭûbâ to 'Alî,—peace be upon him". It is also stated in the Coran (XXXVI, 11): "And everything have We counted in an apparent guide (*fî imâmin mubînin*)".

He is obvious, if thou lookest into thy soul.
O thou, do not look only on the passions for the water and dust;
See the Light of the Truth by pure eyes,—
Thou canst not see it through this and that.[1]

And (XVII, 73): "The day when We will call all men through their leader", i.e. to-morrow, at the day of Resurrection, God the Allhighest will call every community through the Imam and the leader of their time.

In a *ḥadîth* the Prophet says: "If the earth remains without an Imam even for a while, it will perish at once, with all its people". And in another *ḥadîth* it is stated: "Whoever died without knowing the Imam of his time died as an unbeliever, and the unbelievers go to Hell". [62]

If thou dost not recognize the Imam of the time as the Truth,
Thou shalt go to Hell, regardless of a hundred thousand (years) of devotion.[2]

Unless the name of the Imam implies His own person, and all that is told refers to Himself,—exalted and extolled be He,—why should it be so that if He ceased to exist, the world also would cease to exist? And why should it be that one who does not recognize Him, dies as a *kâfir*, and his place is in Hell?

Once Imam Zaynu'l-'âbidîn was asked: "How do you know God?" He replied: "Through His Man of the time".

[1] Omitted in the HB Abû Isḥâq.

[2] Omitted in the HB Abû Isḥâq. Here it is quoted also on pp. 63 and 72 (text).

Both these schools regard each other as *kâfirs*, and in this both are right. But this truthful community, i.e. the Ismailis (may God make it stable !) say : " Things in this world must have their Lord, who is, always was, and always will be ; He has form and **[60]** attributes, and, at the same time, has no form and no attributes." It is impossible for one to understand a thing unless he has something in common with that thing's substance and form, for otherwise the object would be entirely incomprehensible to him. And it is impossible to find any way of discovering what is beyond the limits of the knowable.

The intention of God is that He should become known through His Man (*Mardi Ū*), and should be worshipped in him. Thus He chose man from all creation, and bestowed upon him His own form, properties or attributes. Man is given His own figure, as testified by all the prophets and the righteous (*nîkân*). Thus (it is said that) when 'Azrâ'îl made the body of Adam from clay, the voice of God was heard to say: " Draw the figure of Adam ". 'Azrâ'îl said : " O Holy Creator, I do not know what design I have to draw ". The voice of the Creator said : " Take a bowl with water, place it before thee, look at My reflection in it, and draw the design of Adam in accordance with it ". So it is stated in the Coran (?) : " Verily the Merciful One created Adam in resemblance of His own form ".[1] It is not said that God became manifested in the form of Adam. Therefore the form of Adam is His own form. Similarly in the Bible (*Tawrât*) it is mentioned : " We wanted to create man according to Our own figure and form so that people should know Me, and should worship Me ".[2] Similarly, it is stated in the Injîl that once Jesus was asked what God was like ? He replied : " This same form " (i.e. human). And (in a *ḥadîth*) it is stated : " I saw God in 'Arafât, riding a camel, with a red cloak over His shoulders ". And Zoroaster in the book of Avesta says : " If you want to see God, look at the human face ".[3]

Thus one must know God in His Man,—" know God by Muḥammad and the Ḥaydar of the time ".[4]

The prophets and the righteous (*nîkân*) thus indicated that he should possess human form,—great and exalted be He !—The truthful of the time call him Our Lord (*Mawlâ-nâ*),

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[1] This Arabic sentence, apparently a *ḥadîth*, is frequently quoted here, invariably as a verse of the Coran (cf. also pp. 72, 103, 112, text). Persian translation, which accompanies this sentence, invariably regards the word *ar-raḥmân* as a definition to " *ṣûrati-hi* ",- quite against the rules of grammar. It gives: *ṣûrati khâṣṣi raḥmânî-yi khûd-ash*.

[2] Cf. Genesis, 1, 26-27 : " And God said : let us make man in Our image, after Our likeness. So God created man in His own image, in the image of God created He him ".

[3] This seems to be purely imaginary.

[4] In the HB of Abû Isḥâq, with which this place literally agrees, this hemistich is omitted.

for the purpose of teaching mankind to know Him, and thus of bringing them to Him.

In the *Fuṣûli mubârak*.[1] or the "Blessed chapters", it is mentioned that once a Daylamite had a dispute with a representative of this particular school at Isfahan. His opponent said: "God has no hands, no eyes", etc.,—he mentioned every part of the human body. The Daylamite replied: "O thou, tail-less! The thing that thou describest is a melon or a water-melon".[2]

The other school, the *Mushabbiha*, or anthropomorphists, hold that God has the appearance of a man; He sits on His throne, resting His legs on it, and holding in His hand a scale, by which He weighs the daily bread of people and gives it to them. This school does not permit an allegorical explanation of anything, but accepts literally everything that is mentioned in the Coran and in the *ḥadîths* Thus they are just like animals that look only for the rind and chaff, and never get to the fruit and grain. Once a learned man from Gilan was asked: "What is weighed by the scale, which is mentioned (as being in the hands of God)"? He replied: "On the one side of it there is rice, and on the other there is wheat; the rice God showers to us, and the wheat He throws to the inhabitants of the hills".[3]

They hold that the Coran is eternal, in form (*ṣûrat*), or contents, and in written letters (*ḥarf*). Whoever does not believe in this is a *kâfir*. Another learned man, belonging to this school, was asked once: "If someone dips the hair of a pig in wine, and with it writes quotations from the Coran on thy dress, will these quotations be eternal?" The learned man replied: "Yes". I said to him: "Will the *namâz* (in such dress) be lawful, according to thy persuasion?" He replied: "No". Said I: "Then how can such quotations be eternal, while a prayer with them is unlawful?"

They say also that nobody knows the ways (*â'în*) of God; the Prophet alone saw Him on the night of the Ascension when he went to the top of the sky. And they say that Jabra'îl used to descend from God, from the top of the sky.

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1 This quotation agrees with the so-called *Haft-bâbi Bâbâ Sayyid-nâ* (see p. 5, line 15, to p. 6, line 2 of my edition). It is very interesting to find why does the compiler style it "*Fuṣûli mubârak*"; - does this mean that he believes in the book being the work of Bâbâ Sayyid-nâ, or does he in reality quote an earlier work from which this passage is incorporated into the *Haft-bâb*?

2 Here the quotation ends.

3 This passage is not found in the *Haft-bâb* attributed to Bâbâ Sayyid-nâ, but its character resembles it very much. It is very tempting therefore to believe that it was taken from an earlier work, perhaps really by Ḥasan b. as-Ṣabbâḥ, and that the *Haft bâb* also derived its contents from it.

CHAPTER V

On the meaning of Imamat, on the periods of Occultation (*satr*) and of Manifestation (*kashf*) of the Imam, and on the meaning of the Great Resurrection (*Qiyâmatu'l-qiyâmât*).

With the help and blessing of Our Lord, the "One who ariseth" at the Day of Resurrection, the Lord of the eighteen thousand worlds, One who forgives the sins of mankind, we have explained in the preceding chapters, and made it clear, that things existing in this world cannot exist by themselves. Some one must give them existence and make them appear, because every design on the table of existence depends on an author: for the possessed cannot exist without the possessor.

With regard to this matter the people in this world, except for this truthful community (i.e. Ismailis), hold two points of view: one, which is the point of the school called *Mu'aṭṭila*, or agnostics, and the other, that of the sect called *Mushabbiha*, or anthropomorphists.

The *Mu'aṭṭila*, or agnostics, are those who hold that the Allhighest and Real One has no attributes (*sifât*). They say that he is free (*munazzah*) from form, that His Substance is beyond human knowledge, and can never be comprehended. This school is subdivided into two parties: one of them plainly denies His attributes, but the other does not deny His possessing such attributes, but admits them only because they regard that such attributes are suitable (*lâ'iq*) to Him, as, for instance, His being Omniscient.[1]

We may ask these people: "what then is the object of His knowledge?" They would reply: "it is suitable to His Substance that it should include knowledge". They will say the same thing about all attributes, such as His almightiness, His hearing and seeing every thing, etc., as preached by the prophets. Thus, this school assert such attributes entirely on their own authority: the nature of the Deity, according to them, cannot be known, as He has no form, His Substance cannot be perceived, and His attributes can never be (directly) understood. Then how is it possible to know about His existence, **[59]** and how is it possible to worship Him? But prophets and saints have come

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[1] The author simplifies the most complex question of the Divine attributes to suit his argument. Apparently under the name of the *Mu'aṭṭila* here he means Mu'tazilites, in some later interpretations of their theories. Cf. Wensinck, *op. cit.*, pp. 70–77.

thânî),[1] the Table (*Lawḥ*), free will (*qadar*), the letter N (*nûn*), the Silent (*ṣâmit*), the Inner (*bâṭin*), the earth, the night, the gate, the Quiet (*sâkin*), the Explainer (*mu'awwil*), and the Cancelling (*nâsikh*). The Prophet and the *Waṣî* together are also called the "Two Foundations", *asâsayn*, and the reason and the mind are both together called the "two reasons", *'aqlayn*.

As the faculty of the reasonable speech is a form of the activity of the "reasoning mind", *nafsi nâṭiqa*, the *Nâṭiq* is supported by the *Nafsi kull*, from which he receives the *ta'yîd*, or spiritual assistance,—this is explained in different ways.

No *Nâṭiq* is free from human weaknesses, as is told in the stories about prophets, and in the Coran. It is the spiritual help of the *Nafsi kull* that keeps him [58] from committing errors. It is said about the prophets in the Coran (XVII, 76): "And had it not been that We made thee firm, thou wouldst have well-nigh leant towards them a little". In other words, "had it not been that We supported thee, thou wert very near to feeling some liking for false people". This refers to the succession in the caliphate, which the Prophet could give to strangers. And this would be a great error,[2] if the Conscious Life Principle could commit it towards him.

And in every period of time it is inevitable that there should be a Proof, *ḥujjat*, who should be infallible as will be mentioned in the chapter dealing with this question.

May our Lord help his slaves, and may he make firm their belief turning away from the path of futility and error, and concentrating all their efforts and energy on carrying out the commands of the Lord!

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1 This is an obvious mistake for *Tâlî*, i.e. "one who follows" (the Prophet),— an expression which is not rare in the Arabic Fatimid works on the *haqâ'iq*, and is the usual and natural correlative of *Sâbiq*.

2 Read in the text *khaṭâ'ist*.

discretion. Similarly, when the Prophet establishes the rule of his *sharî'at*, he entrusts to his *Waṣî* his property, i.e. his Law and his Book, and his family, i.e. his community, making the *Waṣî* their ruler. But, as his law and his book contain the outer (*ẓâhir*) and the inner (*bâṭin*) sense, his sons, i.e. members of the community, carry a different share of the inheritance.

The doctrine of the Divine revelation (*tanzîl*) is connected with the *ẓâhir*, or the outward meaning of the sacred book, in so far as the *sharî'at* is based upon it. And, as the Prophet has to address all people equally, just as if giving an equal share to his own sons in his lifetime, he makes no difference between the different groups. To those who understand the *tanzîl*, or plain teaching, the *Waṣî* gives the *tanzîl*, and to those who need the *ta'wîl*, or esoteric meaning, he gives the *ta'wîl*; thus he teaches every one according to his intellectual ability. **[57]**

Thus we have proved that, as the *ta'wîl* can only be given by a *Waṣî*, every *Nâṭiq* has a *Waṣî*. So Adam had Seth, Noah —Sem, Abraham—Ismail, Moses—Aaron, Jesus—Simon, and Muḥammad, the Apostle of God,—'Alî. The story of 'Alî,— prostration and glory be due at his mention!—may be found in every book and in every collection of *ḥadîths*; and, with the help of logical arguments and of indications in the tradition, we have already proved his high position.

The real point concerning him is contained in what the Prophet has said about him: "he will pay my debt". This means that while the Prophet had to express himself in allegories, and did not show his community the way to the inner sense of the religion, as was the command of his message,—Mawlâ-nâ 'Alî had to pay the Prophet's debt. This means that he had to bring the people out of the allegorical religion, and the unintelligibility of the *sharî'at* in its *ẓâhir*, and lead them to the state of illumination (*paydâ'î*) in the world of reality (*ḥaqîqat*).

The term *tanzîl*, or revelation, comes from the verb meaning to "bring down", or to make something descend from a higher to a lower place. And the term *ta'wîl* is derived from *awwal*, and means "to trace something to its origin". The *ẓâhir*, or external form, is the derivative; what lies under the (apparent) world is permanent and eternal. Thus the Lord of the *ta'wîl* is the one who turns his speech from the *ẓâhir* towards the inner reality, *ḥaqîqat*, and helps people to see it.

The Prophet is also called Formative Conscious Principle (*'Aqli kull*), the Foremost (*Sâbiq*), the Throne (of God, *Kursî*), the Destiny (*qaḍâ*), the Pen (*Qalam*), the Speaker (*Nâṭiq*), the Apparent (*ẓâhir*), the sky, the day, the noon, the city, the mover (*mutaḥarrik*), the Revealer (*munazzil*), and the one whose teaching ultimately is cancelled (*mansûkh*).

The *Waṣî* is called Conscious Life Principle (*Nafsi kull*), the *Asâs* (foundation, i.e. of Imamat), the Second (or following,

of the prophet, which the latter had to express in a form accessible to the understanding of everybody; he separates the people who are capable of attaining the knowledge (*ahli ḥaqîqat*) from those who can understand only through similes. He explains the meaning of these allegories, presenting them in an abstract form, just as the prophet in his teaching deals with the matters belonging to the world of sense. The revealed religion (*sharî'at*) is the outer form of the Laws of the Real (*ḥaqîqat*), while the latter is the inner meaning of the religious practices. **[56]** The outward form is an indication of the inner contents; the positive religion is an allegory; the eternal laws of the Real, *ḥaqîqat*, are only allegorized in it. The allegory must fully correspond with its implied meaning. Thus the world of Reality, which is the same as the world of Divinity, is to be lived in after earthly death, as stated in the Coran (XXIX, 64): "Verily the abode of the next world,—that is life". This means that there is no life or animation, except in man. It follows from this that whatever is given as an allegory in the *sharî'at*, i.e. prayer, fast, *ḥajj*, religious dues, the Coran, etc.,—of all these the reality is man [1]; thus the prayer is (in) man, and the fast is (in) man, and the *zakât* is (in) man, and the Coran is (in) man, and so on,—every thing the same. Similarly, just as there is one who preaches these allegories, the *sharî'at*, so in the same way it is necessary that there should be one who explains what is allegorized in the religion, i.e. the *bâṭin* of the *sharî'at*. Such a man is called *Waṣî*, i.e. the Executor of the Prophet's will.

It is stated in the Coran that Abraham, while leaving his last will to his own son, said (Cor. XXXI, 12): "Do not practice idolatry, because it is a great crime". Therefore, to be an idolater, or a worshipper of the object which is regarded as being similar to God, is to be a sinner. This "giving God companions", *shirk*, is exactly what the followers of the *sharî'at* do sometimes. There is no greater sin and crime of this kind than to regard some one the equal (in his rights) of 'Alî,—peace be upon him! The following of the real Truth (*ḥaqîqat*), is the freedom from that "giving God companions or equals", and this freedom depends on following the *Waṣî*. The meaning of the office of the *waṣî*, executor, as an ordinary term, is the person to whom one entrusts his property, family, and everything after his death, with the right to use these at his own

[1] These speculations, just as many others in this work, obviously show the great difficulty which the author encountered in his struggle with the language in expressing his ideas. What he tries to express here obviously is the idea which may be the best formulated in the well-known Gospel expression: "The Kingdom of God is within us". The author most probably avoided using prepositions (either *dar*, or *az*, etc.) in order not to commit himself to their physical implications.

mandments must be the same for all,—otherwise every one may claim to be an exception, or to have special privileges, and such conditions may be to the detriment of mankind. [55]

But the conditions of mankind are always changing, under the influence of stars, and peculiarities of different periods, and thus the *sharî'at*, or the Divine law revealed to mankind, must change. Thus, if the prophet leaves to them a book, its language must be allegorical, and its teachings must be expressed in similes. Only these are intelligible to the primitive people ; they cannot understand anything beyond the outward meaning of things, *ẓâhir*, because they are in their intellectual development similar to brutes ; these should follow the outward side of the Prophet's instructions ; and this, in reality, is similar to straw or bark. But those who are capable of understanding the inner meaning (*bâṭin*), and themselves seek for knowledge of the real (*ḥaqîqat*), living not only by their lower instincts, but also by reason and thought,—these can perceive the meaning of those instructions and commandments.

If, as we have proved, the prescriptions of the religion concerned with commandments for outward piety, *ẓâhir*, are changing with everything in this ever-changing world, it is clear that the internal meaning of the *sharî'at* is concerned with the existence of the world of the eternal and real. These, indeed, are necessarily unchangeable and unalterable, because theirs is the world connected with God and Divinity, and this is absolutely unchangeable in its substance. The Truth stands by its own meaning, and the reality of the world is the Truth (*Ḥaqq*). The stable existence is to remain stable for ever. Thus we see that things in this world pass through different states outwardly ; but their substance which is the power of God, is permanent and unalterable. Therefore the letter, *ẓâhir*, of the religious teaching (*sharî'at*), which is concerned with the world as it appears to us, must be continually changing, while the inner meaning of it, the *bâṭin*, which is the revelation of the eternal laws (*ḥaqâ'iq*), is concerned with the world of reality ; and since the latter is the same as the world of the Divinity, it is unchangeable.

Thus it is necessary that someone should establish the outward religion, which contains the prescriptions equally obligatory to all, and expressed in a simple and concrete form, thus introducing law into this world. Such a person is called a *nabî*, or prophet. But similarly there should be a person who ought to explain the inner or deeper meaning of the religion (*bâṭini sharî'at*). As human beings vary (in their intellectual capabilities), though their physical appearance may be similar to each other, such a person has to discriminate in giving different commandments to every one, discreetly, not a uniform command to all. He has to reveal the original meaning of the teaching

(*idrâkât*) ; from this it acquires the faculty of reaction at irritation, and **[54]** perception through the senses. By the first it repulses every thing that hurts it, and by the second it distinguishes between what is good to it, and what is not.

Then the soul receives the spirit of human soul (*rûḥi insânî*), which is the reasoning and conscious nature ; with the help of this it is able to understand the eternal laws (*ḥaqîqat*) of things, and, ultimately, to attain the knowledge of God (*ma'rifat*).

Thus we have shown that in the composition of the human nature there are equally mixed the (instincts like those of) eating and drinking, and, on the other hand, thought and consciousness (*khirad wa hûsh*). This explains the presence of the diabolical as well as the angelic and human elements in the nature of man. As a poet says :

> Thou art (at one and the same time) a devil, a brute, angel and man,—
> Thus thou art what of these elements predominates in thee.

Thus it necessarily follows that some one, amongst human beings, is required for the purpose of bringing mankind from the state of bestiality and devilishness to the angelic and real human state, from immorality to righteousness, and from ignorance to knowledge. This cannot be attained unless man is frightened by something, and given a hope (stimulating his moral progress). Primitive man by his nature does not realize anything which is not his own experience of physical things which give him pleasure or pain ; it is necessary for a prophet to explain the devil-like and brutal behaviour in concrete similes, based on experience of senses, and so frighten these primitive people from acquiring undesirable habits. Thus he tells them that the place for sinners is Hell, and that Hell is a place full of fire, with snakes, scorpions and poisonous plants (*zaqûm*). In the same manner he explains the meaning of the angelic qualities of man in concrete forms, telling them that the place for the good is Paradise, which is a garden, full of good food and drink, pretty girls and boys. A prophet always has to express his teachings in the form of such primitive similes, which are intended and devised equally for the understanding of people of all grades of intelligence, down to the lowest. Primitive people do not understand anything except what can be associated with the experience of their senses, and it is of no use talking to them about anything beyond this ; but intelligent people will at once grasp the purport of the simile.

At the same time the prophet must give to the people his commandments, which they have to follow in order that the world should not lapse into a state of anarchy ; and these com-

source of generosity and mercy, Our Master and Our Lord, one who knows the mysteries of what is open and of what is hidden, Our Lord Shâh Khalîlu'l-lâh,—prostration and glorification be due at his mention ! [1]

As it was explained above, it is necessary that an Imam should be the son of an Imam, a descendant of the line (*dhurriyyat*) of the former Imams, as God Himself said (Cor. III, 30) : "... as a line of descendants, one succeeding the other ; and God hears and knows". Truly, he possesses noble qualities and high virtues, and the knowledge which leads to God and to Divinity. It is said in a *ḥadîth* : " The knowledge of God is the knowledge of the Imam of the time ".

This is the state of those who attain the true belief in the unity of God (*waḥdat*), and a degree of perfection on the way to eternity and eternal life. That teaching [52] for the spreading of which all the prophets and saints came (by the glory of Mawlâ-nâ—exalted be his mention, and great be his word !—who is the greatest of all the prophets), now, verily, is continued in the system of this true religion, by the virtue of His Truth (*bi-ḥaqq ḥaqqi-hi*).

May Mawlâ-nâ, by his generosity and mercy, guide all to the road of the "Direct Path", may he give us the power to obey his *ḥujjat*, who opens wide the door to the mercy (of the Imam) for the people in the world. Verily, he is in charge of all this, He, to whom our account is to be rendered, Our Lord, the One, besides whom we need nobody !

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[1] Shâh Khalîlu'l-lâh, as is known, was assassinated in Yazd some time between 1229/1814 and 1233/1818.

all his affairs. [51] Mawlâ-nâ Nizâr, upon whom was the *naṣṣ* of Imamat, entrusted to Bâbâ Sayyid-nâ (one of his descendants).[1] Bâbâ Sayyid-nâ was appointed the chief *ḥujjat*,[2] and Daylamân, Ṭârim, Âl,[3] and Ḥaydarâbâd[4] were entrusted to him.

After him (i.e. Nizâr), there was Mawlâ-nâ Hâdî, then Mawlâ-nâ Muhtadî, then Mawlâ-nâ Qâhir,[5] then Mawlâ-nâ Ḥasan *'alâ dhikri-hi's-salâm* (557–561/1162–1166),—he took off the ties and chains from the necks of his followers. 180,000 years had passed from the great ancient era to that time. The Prophet has himself predicted the date. And all that had been prophecied by Moses in the Torah, by Jesus in the New Testament, David in the Psalms, Abraham in his "Books", Zoroaster in the Book of Zand, and Bû Sa'îdi Mânawî in the Book of *Angliyûn* (Euangelion),[6] and all signs of the prophets came true with Mawlâ-nâ Ḥasan *'alâ dhikri-hi's-salâm*. After him was Mawlâ-nâ Ḍiyâ'u'd-dîn[7] Muḥammad (561–607/1166–1210); then Mawlâ-nâ Jalâlu'd-dîn Ḥasan (607–617/1210–1220); then Mawlâ-nâ 'Alâ'u'd-dîn Muḥammad (617–653/1220–1255); then Mawlâ-nâ Ruknu'd-dîn Khûrshâh (653–655/1255-1257); then Mawlâ-nâ Shamsu'd-dîn Muḥammad; then Mawlâ-nâ Mu'min Shâh[8]; then Mawlâ-nâ Qâsim Shâh; then Mawlâ-nâ Qâsim Shâh, son of Qâsim Shâh; then Mawlâ-nâ 'Imâdu'l-ḥaqq wa'd-dîn Salâm; then Mawlâ-nâ Salâm Shâh, son of Salâm Shâh; then Mawlâ-nâ Gharîb Shâh; then Mawlâ-nâ Bû Dharr 'Alî; then Mawlâ-nâ Shâh Murâd; then Mawlâ-nâ Dhû'l-faqâr; then Mawlâ-nâ Shâh Nûru'd-dahr; then Mawlâ-nâ Shâhi dîn Khalîlu'l-lâh; then Mawlâ-nâ Shâh Sayyid Abû'l-Ḥasan 'Alî; then Mawlâ-nâ Shâh Sayyid Abû'l-Ḥasan; then Mawlâ-nâ, one who ariseth by the command of God, the ruler (*Qâ'im*) of the present time and of eternity, the

[1] In all copies, and even in the H B Abû Ishâq, this place is badly mutilated, and is extremely ambiguous. It is not clear by whom and what was handed, and to whom. It may appear as if Mustanṣir, or Nizâr, has handed the Imamat to Ḥasan b. Ṣabbâh,—which is obvious nonsense. There is no doubt that something is omitted here, most probably (and naturally) the words: *farzandi khûd-râ*, as suggested in the translation.

[2] The early historians, such as Atâ Malik Juwaynî, Rashîdu'd-dîn, and Qazwînî never mention Ḥasan b. Ṣabbâh's being a *ḥujjat*.

[3] Obviously for Âmul, the ancient town in Mazandaran.

[4] A fictitious name, cf. above, p. 5, note 3.

[5] In some genealogies, and in the *Ta'rîkhi Guzîda*, etc., the name *al-Qâhir bi-aḥkâmi'l-lâh* is merely a title of the next Imam. However, in the official version of the genealogy it is regarded as the name of a different Imam.

[6] Euangelion of Mani is mentioned in the *Fihrist* of Ibn Nadîm, in his account of Manichaeism; but he does not refer to this Abû Sa'îd. Perhaps this may imply the name of a late translator of the book, who lived in Muhammadan time?

[7] In some copies 'Alâ'u'd-dîn, which form is usually accepted by the historians.

[8] This name, and a few other names, do not appear in the present official version of the genealogy.

After Mawlâ-nâ Ismâ'îl there was Mawlâ-nâ Muḥammad, then Mawlâ-nâ Raḍiyyu'd-dîn Aḥmad, then Mawlâ-nâ Wafiyyu'd-dîn Muḥammad, then Mawlâ-nâ Taqiyyu'd-dîn Muḥammad,[1] then Mawlâ-nâ Mahdî 'Abdu'l-lâh (297–322/909–934)[2]; he made himself manifest in the Maghrib, as it was predicted in the *ḥadîth* of the Prophet: "The sun will rise from the West (Maghrib) at the end of three hundred years". This means that the Sun of Imamat would rise from Maghrib three hundred years after the Hijrat of the Apostle of God. When he manifested himself, he conquered the cities of the Maghrib, of Syria, and Egypt,[3] founded the city of Mahdiyya, and later saved Egypt from famine. After him there were Mawlâ-nâ Muḥammad Qâ'im (322–334/934–946), then Mawlâ-nâ Manṣûr (334–341/946–953), then Mawlâ-nâ Mu'izz (341–365/953–975), who is very famous. He founded Cairo.[4] Then Mawlâ-nâ 'Azîz (365–386/975–996), then Mawlâ-nâ Ḥâkim (386–411/996–1021). He collected a number of scholars to whom he ordered to compose astronomical tables (*zîj*) for him, which tables are well known. Khwâja Naṣîr (i.e. Naṣîru'd-dîn Ṭûsî) mentions this in his work "Explanation of Almagest" (*Taḥrîri Majisṭî*).[5] After him Mawlâ-nâ Ẓâhir (411–427/1021–1036), then Mawlâ-nâ Qâhir (i.e. the same Ẓâhir),[6] and then Mawlâ-nâ Mustansir (427–487/1036–1094).

I went from Balkh to Egypt, and had the honour of calling on him. Very soon I gained such distinction that I was appointed the chief *dâ'î* of Khorasan and Badakhshan, and was sent to Badakhshan. My grandfather (*jadd-am*), Bâbâ Sayyid-nâ,[7] also attained great distinction[8]; and I became an assistant in

much better than many other copies, and these passages are intentionally left as they are, without any emendation or collation with other versions, to give the student a correct idea of what such genealogies are. A special paper is being published elsewhere by the author of these lines, and the whole matter is analysed there.

1 In the present official version of the genealogy this Imam is called 'Abdu'l-lâh.

2 The dates of the reign of these caliphs are not given in the text, but are supplied for the convenience of the students.

3 These conquests, obviously, are not only those of al-Mahdî, but also of other Fatimids.

4 Here Qâhiriyya, wrongly instead of Qâhira.

5 Cf. Brockelmann, I, 511.

6 Obviously a mistake of an early lazy scribe, who absent-mindedly wrote here Qâhir, and then did not strike it off. It is interesting that the same mistake reappears regularly in all copies. In the HB Abû Isḥâq the order is correct.

7 Cf. above, p. 10.

8 In the HB Abû Isḥâq instead of this fictitious story it is simply stated: *Dar 'ahdi û Ḥakîm Nâṣiri Khusraw 'Alawî az Balkh ba Miṣr raft wa ba khidmati ân ḥaḍrat rasîda wa irshâd yâfta, dâ'î-yi Khurâsân shud,* i.e. "in his reign Ḥakîm Nâṣiri Khusraw 'Alawî went from Balkh to Egypt. Being presented to the caliph, and having received instructions, he became a *dâ'î* of Khorasan".

persons give them their bread,—the real (Imam) and the temporary,—this is clear and obvious.

After him (i.e. Imam Ḥusayn) there was Mawlâ-nâ Zaynu'l-'âbidîn, then Mawlâ-nâ Muḥammad Bâqir, then Mawlâ-nâ Ja'far the Ṣâdiq,[1] then Mawlâ-nâ Ismâ'îl. It is said that amongst the sons of Imam Ja'far the Ṣâdiq there was a dispute, and every one claimed Imamat for himself. The Imamites say that the (right Imam) was Mûsâ Kâẓim. To the followers of their school I reply: Imamat is transferred by *naṣṣ*, or clear appointment, and the original *naṣṣ* was given to Mawlâ-nâ Ismâ'îl, and only after this a *naṣṣ* was given to Mûsâ Kâẓim. An Imam, on whom depends the existence of the earth and of the heavens, may find it necessary to do things that we, ordinary mortals, cannot understand or comprehend.[2]

In addition to this, there was no doubt in the Imamat of Mawlâ-nâ Ismâ'îl until the time when the *naṣṣ* was also given to others. And a doubt about the *naṣṣ* of Imam Mûsâ Kâẓim arose the very moment the *naṣṣ* [50] was given. If he really had been an Imam, it follows that his line would not have ended with his descendant, Ḥasan 'Askarî. We have already proved the point about the extinction of the line in the preceding chapters.[3] But there is always apparent (*qâ'im*) one of the line (*dhurriyyat*) of Mawlâ-nâ Ismâ'îl. The period of life of each of his descendants is just the ordinary and natural space of time, and there is always a possibility (at least) of some people seeing him, so that whoever is very keen and anxious to see him, can do so. All the promises (*wa'da-hâ*), found in the Coran and the *ḥadîths*, regarding the advance of the Qâ'im, of the Resurrection (*Qiyâmat*), of the cancellation of the law (*sharâ'i'*), and reward of the faithful which will be mentioned in the next chapter,—all these have been fulfilled, and will be fulfilled only in connection with the descendants of Mawlâ-nâ Ismâ'îl.[4]

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1 As is well known, the line of the Imams, as above, so far is recognized also by the Ithna-'asharis (who regard Ḥasan as an ordinary Imam).

2 This is one of the instances of the author's disregard for history. It is an indisputable fact that Imam Ismâ'îl was nominated first, and Mûsâ Kâẓim after him, as is usually narrated, after the premature death of his elder brother, or, as the Nizârîs believe, in order to hide the real Imam from the schemes of the Abbasids. It is interesting that in the HB Abû Isḥâq these details are omitted. Most probably all this is an emendation of the editors, though it is absolutely incomprehensible why should have they so much perverted the facts.

3 Cf. above, p. 17.

4 After this follows the genealogy of the Nizari Imams, which is "corrected", supplemented, and, of course, perverted, by individual efforts of every scribe who copied the work. Therefore it is probably impossible to find two copies of the *Kalâmi Pîr* in which the sequence and the names of the Imams would be identical. The present copy is

This is the state of those who really believe in the unity of God, His being the only Truth, the Kingdom of God, and Divinity.

Thus the people who are *ahli taḍâdd*, i.e. those who are opposed to religious belief, should try to attain the state of the people of "gradual progress" (*tarattub*), and the latter should strive to attain the state of the people of *waḥdat*. And the latter have to try to become firmly convinced (*ṣâḥib yaqîn*), after having passed all the degrees of the belief in the unity of God. Among themselves they should treat each other as if one recognizes that his friend is better than himself, and he should love him better than himself, and risk even his life in order to help him. He must not hide anything from his friend, and must regard all his possessions as belonging to his associate. This is the religious law of this community. And the higher law is that they do not see nor know anything except for Our Lord (Mawlâ-nâ),—exalted be his mention!— [49] and for Mawlâ-nâ are ready to sacrifice themselves, their friends, anything. May Mawlâ-nâ give us all the possible help, in developing real obedience to himself, and may he extend his mercy to all. Verily, He is such, with Him is our account, and we do not want anyone except Him!

They say that at the time of the Prophet the Imam was Mawlâ-nâ 'Alî, and after him was Imam Ḥasan, who was an "officiating" (*mustawda'*) Imam, i.e. Imamat was only entrusted to him personally. He occupies a position between the hidden and the manifest *ḥujjat* (*ḥujjati bâṭin wa ẓâhir*),—though the state of being hidden or manifest (of such an Imam) differs from that of the ordinary Imam. For this reason Imamat was not transferred to his descendants. The real, inheriting Imam, *mustaqarr*, was Mawlâ-nâ Ḥusayn. Imamat was to remain permanently with him and his posterity, just as in the case of Mawlâ-nâ Ismâ'îl, who was also called Maliku's-salâm,—he was *Imâmi mustaqarr*, while Imâm Mûsâ Kâẓim was only *Imâmi mustawda'*.[1] It is said in the Coran (VI, 98): "Now we have detailed the signs of the permanent settlement (*mustaqarr*) and of the (temporary) depository (*mustawda'*) unto a people who discern". And it is also said in the Coran (XI, 8): "There is no beast that walks upon the earth but its provision is from God. He knows its settlement and its (temporary) resting place (*mustaqarr wa mustawda'*); all is in the perspicuous book". This means that God the Allhighest said, that to all the believers in God, found between the heavens and earth, two

[1] This statement, as also above, cf. p. 18, is a surprising revelation to every Ismaili. No branch of the Ismaili sect accepts this, and the theory, it seems, is entirely due to the requirements of the *taqiyya* on the part of the author, who generally is very much influenced by Ithna-'ashari ideas. Cf. above, Introduction I; also further on, p. 75 (of the text).

exile,[1] to which they may be subjected. They must be firm in the temptations which the *Muḥiqq* of their time may force them to undergo. It is said in the Coran (II, 150-151): "We will try you with something of fear, and hunger, and loss of wealth, or souls, and fruit; but give good tidings to the patient, who when there falls on them a calamity, say: verily, we are God's, and, verily, to Him do we return; these, on them are blessings from their Lord and mercy, and they it is who are guided".

Everything that is found on earth or in heaven belongs to the kingdom of Our Lord (*Mawlâ-nâ*), as is stated in the Coran (III, 186): "God's is the kingdom of the heavens and the earth". Therefore, everything that is in existence there is entirely under the command of Mawlâ-nâ, whether willing to obey, or not (Cor. XIII, 16): "All those who are in the heavens or on the earth prostrate before God, either voluntarily or perforce".

They are prepared to suffer hardships for the sake of the True One, and for the Lords of the period of *satr*, i.e. the hidden Imams, in preference to the pleasures which they may obtain in this world, in accordance with the secret meaning of the *ḥadîth* (?): "They are rejoiced in suffering for the sake of God". This world exists for the sake of people like them, so long as such people regard themselves of no importance, in accordance with the *ḥadîth*: **[48]** "If the world remains without the Imam even for a while, it will perish with all its population". He, the Imam, every day looks 100,000 times upon the creation of the world, in accordance with the *ḥadîth*: "Whoever dies without having recognized the Imam of his time, he dies as an idolater, and idolaters go to Hell". And it is also said in the Coran (XVII, 73): "The day when We will call all men through their religious leader (Imam)". This means that the adversaries of the religion (*ahli taḍâdd*) are those who see themselves before anything, and do not see God,—this is the state of unbelief (*kufr*). Such people are adversaries (*ahli taḍâdd*), and will never attain the belief in One God (*tawḥîd*).

The people of "gradual progress" (*tarattub*) are those who see both,—their own selves and God, and this is idolatry (*shirk*) and insincerity (*nifâq*).

The people who really profess the belief in One God (*ahli waḥdat*) are those who see God only, and do not see themselves, nor do they have much regard for their own affairs or their own lives; but they are entirely absorbed in God, never taking any notice of, nor being interested in anything but God. They regard themselves as nothing in relation to God's existence.

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[1] Apparently a mistake. The HB Abû Ishâq gives *'azîmati*, which is much worse. Probably the correct is *adhiyyati*, or molestation.

already left the world of material, with which *sharî'at* is concerned, and reached the world of spiritual, which is that of reality, *ḥaqîqat*, their eyes are turned towards the word (*qawl*),[1] i.e. the spiritual world . . .

[A short passage which is illegible in the original is omitted here. It contains some controversial references to the enemies of 'Alî, apparently not connected with these speculations. They are omitted in the HB of Abû Isḥâq.]

About the spirit (*rûḥ*) it is said in the Coran (XVII, 87): "Say: the spirit comes at the bidding of my Lord". And God the Allhighest says, that, as the spirit belongs to the world of command, it is living, because the command of God is always with it. Whenever the spirit breaks from Him, it becomes separated, and dies. Giving orders to anyone has the form of speech, *qawl*,—not the form of an action (*fi'l*); the meaning of command (*amr*) is ordering. As the people who stick only to the letter (*ẓâhir*) of religion do not receive the command of the *Muḥiqq*, or the Bearer of the truth of their time (i.e. Imam), they are as if dead,—as the command does not come to them; they have no spirit, and, therefore, are dead.

As the power of understanding and reasoning varies with different people, every one should go by the way which may help him to attain [47] his perfection. He must learn the things in the form in which he would be able to understand them. The way to salvation is to receive instruction from the spiritual guide, who directs to the right path,—i.e. from the greatest *ḥujjat*. It is impossible that the teacher should *act*[2] on one and the same occasion in such a way as to make his action varied to suit respective degree of intelligence of his followers. His action can only be one in each case. But he can *speak* in a different way to each follower, in accordance with his capacity of understanding. We made it clear, therefore, that the pupil should not take exclusive note of the actions of his preceptor (which he may misunderstand), but he must follow the teaching of his guide, and obey his orders, whatever the teacher may order (without asking why and for what reason he should do so).[3]

The Ismailis of the world are those who have made a final determination to live and act in accordance with Truth, under adverse or favourable circumstances, in hardships or in pleasures, in despair or in joy, doing everything to help one another, making the utmost effort, and patiently bearing every form of

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1 The HB Abû Isḥâq again gives a better reading,—*qawl* instead of *qabûl*; the text should be altered in this way.

2 The text again may be improved by collation with the HB Abû Isḥâq. Read (p. 47, line 2): *na-mîtuwânad bûd ki mu'allim*, etc.

3 Added from the HB Abû Isḥâq.

relative world they cannot understand the world of absolute reality (*ḥaqîqat*),—and since this is impossible, they cannot comprehend the mystery of it. Whoever tries to judge according to his reason, which is of this relative world, the things of the world of realities, he falls far short of the attainment of that real world, and thus submits himself to eternal damnation.[1] The man who says that the Imam must act in this way, and not in that, would be in the same position as if he says: "I am the *Muḥiqq*, or the Source of truth, and the Imam must follow me". Thus, he has no faith in the Imam. It would be the same as if a miserable animal compared itself to a human being, who is the most perfect of creations, and demanded the human being to follow it. Or, as if inorganic elements claimed that plants should be inferior to them. Nothing but perversion and depravity will result from such an attitude. Such people are mentioned in the Coran (XLVIII, 6): "And to torment the hypocrites, men and women, and the idolaters, men and women, who think evil thoughts of God:—over them is a turn of evil fortune, and God will be wroth with them, and has prepared for them Hell,—and an evil journey shall it be!" **[46]** On the Day of Resurrection they will be hanged by the feet, and severely tortured.[2] They will say: "O Creator, we have seen all that we should see, and heard all that we had to hear. Let us return to the earth so that we may try to act righteously within our powers, in accordance with Thy command, as it has become clear to us now". But God said (Coran, XLVIII, 11), in spite of their excuses, that they were overpowered by the influence (of considerations) of their property and their families,—He will not help them. It is mentioned about those who had thus acquired such an experience (XXXII, 12): "... hang down their heads before their Lord (saying): O Lord, we have seen and we have heard; send us back then, and we will do right. Verily, we are sure".

Such a truthful religion is that of the Ismailis. They do not observe the actions of the Imams of their time, but follow what the Imams teach. Because the relation between the pupil and the teacher is that of the ear and the tongue, or of wife and husband: ear must learn from tongue, and woman must conceive from man. Besides, *sharî'at* is the sphere of the material, and *ṭarîqat*[3] and *ḥaqîqat* are the sphere of the spiritual. Action belongs to the material world, and word belongs to the spiritual. As this truthful community have

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[1] Cf. p. 113 of the text, where the same question of the *qawl* and of *fi'l* of the *Muḥiqq* is again taken up.

[2] Examples of primitive eschatological ideas are numerous in this work, as is already noted in the Introduction.

[3] Cf. above, p. 13, note 2. Here *ṭarîqat* is associated with *ḥaqîqat*.

"Did I not tell thee from the beginning that thou wouldst not agree with these boundaries, but thou didst not listen to me".[1]

[Here a few pages are lost in the original, in which the author repeats the usual Shi'ite legends about the sufferings of 'Alî and Fâṭima to which they were subjected by their adversaries,—in rather bitter tone. All these most probably are derived from various Ithna-'ashari works, and resemble very much the stories recited at the *rawḍa-khwânî* assemblies in Persia. Further the question is raised about the *mut'a* marriages, which were permitted by the Prophet, but prohibited by 'Umar; the story of Abû Dharr's being exiled by 'Uthmân, etc. In the course of his argument the author refers to different books: *al-Jam' bayna's-Saḥîḥayn*, mentioned above (cf. pp. 29 and 34), the collections of *ḥadîths* of Bukhârî and of Muslim, the *Sharḥ* on the *Nahju'l-balâgha* of 'Alî, by 'Umar ibn Abî'l-Ḥadîd al-Madâ'inî (d. 655/1257, cf. Brockelmann, I, 405): but the most interesting is his reference to his own work (*risâla*) of controversial contents, and *Kitâbi* or *Kitâb-hâyi Arba'în*, also on the *qabâ'ih* of the adversaries of 'Alî.]

We have thus proved that the true Imams are only the Ismaili Imams who have nothing to do with impurity and sin, and are entirely free from these. They always have a *ḥujjat*, or a *dâ'î*, or a teacher (*mu'allim*)[2] who **[45]** instructs people in knowledge of God and His recognition, who always upholds the standard of the law of the religion. They learn the truth from the One who is the Source of the truth (*Muḥiqq*) of their time, and follow what he teaches. And when the *Muḥiqq* is manifested personally, nobody has any right to question, why the Imam orders to act in one way, and acts himself in another. One must say: "I follow thee in what thou teachest me, not in what thou doest, because no one can know the mystery of thy actions save Him".[3] For, the follower who questions the actions of the Imam, places himself on the same footing as the Imam,—God forbid such a thing! God the Allhighest mentions in the Coran (III, 35, and V, 1): "God acts as He pleases, and orders whatever He wishes". And in another place He says (XXI, 23): "He shall not be questioned concerning what He does, but they shall be questioned". This means that the acts of God are not to be questioned, but the acts of His chosen servants, such as *ḥujjats* and *dâ'îs* can be questioned. Sometimes it happens that he (the Imam) acts in such a way as to tempt his followers.[4] And if,—God forbid!—the followers criticize his actions, they will fall into great temptation and come under his wrath. Sometimes he shows himself in his real nature (*ḥaqîqat*). His followers who belong to the world of relativeness (*iḍâfa*) can see it. But, as they belong to this

[1] Here the quotation ends.
[2] Hence the text again agrees, more or less, with that of the HB Abû Ishâq.
[3] Cf. on this subject above, Introduction, II.
[4] HB Abû Isḥâq gives *âzmâ'ish* instead of *âsâ'ish*; the former reading is to be preferred.

those heretics who were so impudent as to deprive the Prophet's most beloved daughter of possession of the garden of Fadak,—they could not part with this garden for the sake of the person to whom the whole of the surface of the earth had been given as a dowry! They broke the covenant of Ghadîr Khumm, they withheld the last will (*waṣiyyat-nâma*) of the Prophet! Know that the crime of taking away the garden of Fadak, and the injustice to Fâṭima were so glaring and clamorous that some of the Omayade and Abbasid caliphs, who felt that it was wrong, wanted to restore her rights returning the garden to her descendants. [44] The first of them was 'Umar ibn 'Abdi'l-'Azîz (99–101/717–720), who was the most pious amongst the Omayades. After him amongst the Abbasid caliphs were Ma'mûn (198–218/813–833), Mu'taṣim (218–227/833–842), and Wâthiq (227–232/842–847). They handed over the garden to the descendants of Fâṭima. When it came to the turn of Mutawakkil (232–247/847–861), he took it back from them, but Mu'taḍid (279–289/892–902) handed it over. But Muktafî (289–295/902–908) took it back, and Muqtadir (295–320/908–932) again returned it.

In the book called *Laṭâ'ifu'ṭ-ṭawâ'if* [1] it is narrated that once Hârûnu'r-rashîd said to Mûsâ Kâẓim: "Give me an idea of the boundaries of the garden of Fadak so that I may restore it to thee, because I know that with regard to this a crime was committed against the kinsfolk of the Prophet". Mûsâ Kâẓim replied: "If I define the boundaries of that garden, thou wilt not feel like restoring it to me". Hârûn swore that he would restore it. Then Mûsâ Kâẓim said: "The first boundary of the garden of Fadak is Aden". On hearing this Hârûn became pale. He said: "And then?" Mûsâ Kâẓim said: "The second boundary is Samarqand". The face of the caliph became yellow, but he said: "And then?" The reply was: "The third boundary is the African Maghrib". The face of the caliph changed from yellow to purple; and with great anger he said: "And then?" Mûsâ Kâẓim said: "The fourth boundary is the sea of Armenia". The face of the caliph from red turned to black. He reflected awhile, and then turned to Mûsâ Kâẓim, and said: "Thou hast mentioned the boundaries and the provinces of my empire. This means that all my possessions belong by right to the descendants of Fâṭima, and thus the Abbasids have usurped the rights of the kinsfolk of the Prophet?" Mûsâ Kâẓim replied:

[1] The *Laṭâ'ifu'ṭ-ṭawâ'if*, by 'Alî b. Ḥusayn al-Wâ'iẓ al-Kâshifî (d. *ca.* 939/1533), was composed by him, as he himself mentions in the opening lines of it, after his release from captivity in 933/1527. The passage, which belongs to the second *bâb*, seventh *faṣl* (p. 30 of the Bombay lithograph, 1311), is here quoted literally, with remarkable accuracy. The quotation is not found in the HB Abû Isḥâq.

anything that we leave after us except to those who deserve this", i.e. except to the successors (*dhurriyyat*), who are mentioned in the Coran (III, 30): "the descendants, one succeeding the other,—and God hears and knows (all)". This means: I have left the Coran and my successors with you; and what I left you was left truly and sincerely for the purpose of saving the people from error.

And we heard the Prophet saying (Cor. XIX, 5): "Then grant me Thou a successor (*walî*), to be my heir",—i.e. Zachariah prayed to God for this.

Therefore one can realize the extent of the lies and tricking of those cursed people who seized from Fâṭima the garden of Fadak, the house and the inheritance of the Prophet of God, despite the fact that he himself gave her all this during his lifetime, and that those who seized this had nothing to prove their right. Fâṭima, the Most Virtuous of women, produced witnesses to the effect that her father had left all this to her. But those vile and impudent people have covered themselves with eternal shame by rejecting her witnesses, though they were such persons as the Commander of the Faithful 'Alî, Umm Kulthûm, Salmân, Bû Dharr, Suhayl, Miqdâd, Jâbir Anṣârî,[1] and all the members of the Prophet's family, including Umm Ayman, to whom the Prophet promised Paradise.

It is related in the works of Bukhârî and of Muslim,[2] both of which are amongst the most authoritative books recognized by the Sunnites, that the Prophet, and his most beloved daughter, Fâṭima, were much aggrieved by some of their enemies until they left this frail world. The Prophet himself used to say: [43] "Fâtima is a part of myself, and what affects her, affects me". For this reason it is clear that those enemies are[3] eternally cursed, because, as the Prophet said: "Whoever hates 'Alî, Fâṭima and my grandsons,—he hates myself, and who hates me, he hates God Himself". And whoever hates God and His Apostle, is eternally cursed.[4]

It is also related from Ibn 'Abbâs that the Prophet said: "O 'Alî, God has married thee to Fâṭima, making the whole of the earth her dowry. Thus whoever walks on the earth, feeling hatred towards Fâṭima, he walks like a thief".[5]

Friends, look upon this with the eye of justice, and you will realize the extent of the fraud, and the inhumanity of

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1 These again are the famous Shi'ite saints who were contemporaries of the Prophet and 'Alî. Umm Kulthûm was one of the four daughters of Muhammad.

2 The famous early collections of *ḥadîths*, both with the same title *al-Jâmi'u'ṣ-ṣaḥîḥ*.

3 Here in the original copy are given a few lines of curses upon the enemies of 'Alî, almost illegible.

4 Cf. above, p. 33.

5 Literally: the earth is taboo (*ḥarâm*) to him.

"Verily, God and His Apostle are your protectors (*walî*)",[1] i.e. 'Alî, Commander of the Faithful, is the "Friend" of God, and the *Waṣî* of the Prophet. For this reason while the Prophet was returning from the *ḥajj*, which is called the "highest *ḥajj*", when he arrived at a place which was called Qayyimatu'l-Qadr, on the night of Qadr, Jabra'îl descended [41] and revealed this verse (Cor. V, 71): "O thou Apostle, preach what has been revealed to thee from thy Lord; and if thou dost not, thou hast not preached His message", i.e. O Muḥammad, appoint the *Waṣî*, and impart to the people that 'Alî is the Imam. If thou dost not do this, thou art not deserving of Prophethood, in accordance with the verse (Cor. XXXVI, 11): "And everything have We counted in the obvious guide (Imam)", i.e. he sees and knows about everything and everybody in the world, in accordance with this verse (Cor. IV, 62): "O ye who believe, obey God, and obey the Apostle, and those in authority amongst you", i.e. obey the King of Men, Murtaḍâ 'Alî,—as the expression "those in authority" refers to him.

Then the Prophet ordered (his men) to unload camels, and to make a *minbar* (preaching chair) from the pack-saddles. Then he took 'Alî by hand, led him to the *minbar*, made him sit down, and started an eloquent sermon, saying "I believe in God, His angels, His apostles, and the Last Day".[2] And the Last Day means the King of Men (='Alî) and his successors, as the Prophet meant it. Thus it is obligatory to believe in him. Then the Prophet said: "Those whose Lord I am, 'Alî is their Lord also", because it is said: "Verily God is your Protector (*walî*)" (Cor. V, 60).[3] It is clear, therefore, that 'Alî is the "Friend" of God, and the *Waṣî* of the Prophet, as it is said about him in the Coran (IV, 62): "Obey God, and obey the Apostle", etc.[4]

[Here a few pages are omitted in the original, in which the author again refers to ancient history, i.e. the Egyptian campaign of Usâma, who was sent there by the Prophet. With other Shi'ites, he tells that Abû Bakr and 'Umar did not go with the troops. Further he tells the well-known fact that when the Prophet on his deathbed wanted to dictate his will, 'Umar interfered, and the Prophet died before this could be done. The author refers to the same *al-Jam' bayna'ṣ-Ṣaḥîḥayn* (cf. above, p. 29), and to the *Jâmi'* which he attributes to the authorship of Abû Hâshim.[5]]

[42] Ibn 'Abbâs relates from the Prophet a *ḥadîth* as follows: "We are living with prophets,[6] and we do not bequeath

[1] Cf. above, p. 15, note 3.

[2] Here the "revealed books" are omitted. Cf. p. 1, note 1.

[3] Again the same difficult verse, cf. p. 15, note 3.

[4] Cf. above, p. 15.

[5] It is difficult to find what this book really is, as the title, the name of the author, and the subject are referred to so vaguely.

[6] Apparently in the sense: we live observing the same customs as all the prophets did. Cf. above, p. 35 of the text.

thy kinsfolk, O Prophet?" He replied: "'Alî and both my grandsons, with all other Imams, who descend from the Father of Imams, Ḥusayn, and who are sinless (*ma'ṣûm*) by God's will,—verily, they are the *Ahli Bayt*", etc. And the Prophet added (concerning 'Alî): "Thy flesh is my flesh, and thy blood is my blood". True it is what the Prophet said.

Many companions of the Prophet certified to the correctness of this *ḥadîth*. The Prophet said: First God created a screen (*ḥijâb*), and wrote on it, after the formula of the *tawḥîd*, the words: "Muḥammad is the Apostle of God and 'Alî is his *Waṣî*". After this God created the Throne, *'Arsh*. The command was given to the Pen (*Qalam*): "Write". The Pen asked: "What shall I write?" The voice came from the world of the unseen: "Write:—there is no deity but Allah, and Muḥammad is His Apostle". The Pen moved thirty thousand years over the Throne before it wrote on its foundations that formula, i.e. the formula of *tahlîl*,[1] and that Muḥammad is the Prophet of God. Then again came the voice: "Write". Again the Pen asked: "What shall I write?" The voice came: "Write:—verily, the Commander of the Faithful 'Alî is the Friend of God". When the Pen heard the name of the Punisher, it broke and split through fear. It took thirty thousand years more to write this formula, that 'Alî is the *Waṣî* of Musṭafâ. Then God created the earth. **[40]** Therefore whoever pretends to be the friend of the Apostle of God, but does not love the *Waṣî* of the Prophet, he lies about his love for Muḥammad. He is thus a liar before the community. And whoever pretends that he recognizes the Prophet, but does not recognize the *Waṣî*, he on the Last Day will not believe in Muḥammad,—peace be upon him!—and thus is disobedient.

Then the Apostle of God said: "Whoever loves 'Alî and his successors, loves me also, and whoever loves me, loves God".[2] And he said further: "But he who hates 'Alî and his successors, hates me, and whoever hates me, hates God".

Thus said the Apostle of God: "Know that my kinsfolk (*Ahli Bayt*) are Imams. Therefore, love for them is the same as love for myself, and hostility towards them is the same as hostility towards myself".

Some companions asked: "O Prophet, tell us, what does this mean, so that the people may avoid error". The Prophet replied (by a verse from the Coran, LXXVI, 1): "Does there not come on man a while in his existence when he ceases to be something worth mentioning (by others, i.e. when he is dead)?" And in another place it is said (Cor. V, 60):

[1] *Tahlîl* means repeating the formula *lâ ilâha illâ'l-lâhu*,="there is no deity except God".

[2] Cf. above, p. 32.

nected",—Mary was one of the *ḥujjats*.[1] Prophets have descended from Abraham, and Imams—from 'Imrân, as is said in the Coran (III, 30): "Verily God has chosen Adam," etc. This means that the "posterity" (*dhurriyyat*) of the prophets descend one from the other, from the time of the (creation of the) world, to the time of the Final Prophet, and will do so to the end of the world.

> So many thousands of years before the foundation of
> the Universe,
> Muḥammad and 'Alî were sitting together.

God the Allhighest said in the *sûrat* "Counsel" in the Coran (XLII, 22): "Say: I do not ask a hire for it,—only the love of my kinsfolk. And he who gains a good action (We will increase good for him thereby)", i.e. say, O Muḥammad: I do not ask any reward from you for my being an Apostle,—I do not take a fee from prophets or from the followers, for preaching. I only want friendliness shown towards my successors (*Ahli Bayt*). This makes the slave of God nearer to the Allhighest. And everyone who works (*kasb kunad*) for one of my successors (*dhurriyyat*), i.e. who is obedient to me, and (feels) love (for the Apostle's descendants), becomes nearer to me, and will become associated with me. As the Prophet said (to 'Alî): "Thou art in relation to me as Aaron to Moses, for the sake of his great ancestors, the changing world, and undulating sea". This refers to the person whom the Prophet calls his brother, his cousin, and his lieutenant. All the obedient faithful are honoured by the reference to him: "'Alî is the Lord of those whose Lord I am",—the Prophet on the day of Ghadîr Khumm said this to his followers.

And further he said: "God, befriend those who befriend him, help those who help him, and disregard those who disregard him". The proof of the correctness [39] of this *ḥadîth* is found in another *ḥadîth*: "The Prophet said: the first thing which God created was the cupola (of the sky ?). He wrote on it: "there is no deity except Allah, Muḥammad is Apostle of God, and 'Alî is the *Waṣî* of Muṣṭafâ". Then God created the Throne (*'Arsh*), and wrote on its foundations the same formula: "there is no deity except for Allah, Muḥammad is His Apostle, and 'Alî is His face (*wajh*)". Every one who thinks that love for the Prophet is obligatory, and love for the *Waṣî* is not, thinks erroneously. And every one who thinks that he can recognize the Prophet, while not recognizing the *Waṣî*,—is an unbeliever." Then the Prophet said: "Are not my kinsfolk protection to you ? Love for them is as love for myself, and whoever disregards them, commits a sin". Someone asked: "And who are

[1] Here the quotation from the third *Ṣaḥîfa* ends.

Adam in His own likeness, and breathed into him His own spirit". This means: do not make your faces appear vile, because really God created Adam after His own image, and breathed into him His own spirit. The Divine form (*ṣûrat*) is the Universal Conscious Life Principle (*Nafsi kull*), and Adam is the *Nâṭiq*, or Prophet of his own time, who had the "immediate support" (*ta'yîd*) of the Universal Life (*Nafsi kull*). In the system of *ta'wîl* the expression "face" always symbolizes the Imam. Thus this expression really means: do not disgrace the Imams in the way that the adversaries do, by regarding false pretenders as true Imams. The *Nâṭiq* in every period calls the people, showing them the way (*ṣûrat*) of following the (human form) of the true Imam.

And the meaning of the "Divine spirit" in this expression is explained in the Coran (IV, 169): "His Word which He cast into Mary, and a Spirit from Him", i.e. the Word of God, which is the spirit, descended to Mary. And it is mentioned also in this verse (LXVI, 12) that the One who breathed this Spirit, the Great, made it descend into the womb of Mary: "And Mary, daughter of 'Imrân, who guarded her purity, and We breathed therein of Our spirit, and she verified *both* [1] the words of her Lord and His books, and was of the devout". And in the *ta'wîl* the meaning of the "virgin" is an allegory for the *ḥujjat*, the proof of God; and the womb means ear. Just as in the womb the material human form comes into existence, so does the spiritual form grow by the hearing of speech through the ears. And the meaning of the whole verse in the *ta'wîl* interpretation is this: Mary, who was the *ḥujjat* of 'Imrân, kept her ears **[38]** away from the ordinary (*ẓâhir*) speeches, devoid of the *ta'wîl*. Then the Word of God became granted to her, in the form of the *ta'wîl*. In this she brought up Jesus, who was the Spirit of God.

In this verse there appears the mention of the breathing of spirit, as well as profession (of faith) by (pronouncing) *both* [2] formulas; and what is allegorized by "spirit" is the word (of God), or the formula (*kalima*). The expression "(she was) of the devout", found in the same verse, means "closely con-

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Introduction, III). The Arabic quotation is not a verse of the Coran, but probably a *ḥadîth*. Here it is mutilated, and therefore does not correspond with the Persian translation, which accompanies it. In the *Saḥîfa* it begins with the words: *lâ tuqabbiḥû'l-wujûha*, which are missing here.

[1] In the ordinary version of the Coran this word stands in the Plural, but the author, with his poor Arabic, reads it in the Dual, *bi-kalimatâni Rabbi-hâ*, quite incorrectly, as it should be *bi-kalimatay*. The Persian version, which accompanies this quotation, shows that he really read it as the *Dual*.

[2] Again the same expression,—see the preceding footnote. Here it apparently is identified with both halves of the formula of *shahâdat*.

and sincerity, and plainly for the purpose of preventing man from straying away off the right path. Both of these will guide the people, and remain as a " proof " of God, just as God said (Cor. V, 44) : " To Him belongs the kingdom of the heavens and of the earth ", and (Cor. II, 256) : " He is the Highest and the Greatest ". And it is again said in the Coran (II, 118) that God said (to Abraham) : " Verily, I will set thee as a leader (Imam) for men ", i.e. God has given Imams to the faithful. [36] And (Abraham) asked : " And (wilt Thou raise Imams) from my posterity ? "—God replied : " My covenant touches not the evildoers " (Cor., *ibid.*).

And it is also said in the Coran (IV, 174) : " O ye folk ! proof has come to you from your Lord, and We have sent down to you manifest light ", i.e. the light of Prophethood and of Imamat. And the Prophet also said : " My Lord promised me that the devotion of the faithful would not be accepted unless it includes also the love for 'Alî and the *Ahli Bayt* ".

The True Lord with Aḥmad the Chosen
Entered a covenant, and promised him,
That no faith would be accepted,
Except for love for 'Alî and his descendants.

The Prophet said : " It was written on the gate of Paradise before the world was created, a thousand years before Adam (?) : there is no Deity except Allah, Muḥammad is His Apostle, and 'Alî is his brother ".

Before Adam he (the Prophet) had existed for thousands of (years).
Many years it was written about love for the Friend,
On the door of the highest Paradise (was written) that Aḥmad
Is the Prophet, and 'Alî is his brother.

And also :—

On the arch of the Throne of God is written the name of Muḥammad.
Who has written it ?—The light of the Prophet (and) of 'Alî.

And it is also said by the Prophet : " Whosoever calumniates or dislikes 'Alî, [37] to him I will never extend my protection. His piety or generosity will not be accepted, and he will go to the centre of Hell, together with the erring " ; just as God the Allhighest said in the Coran (XLII, 9) : " There is naught like Him, for He both hears and sees ; His are the keys of the heavens and of the earth ". And also [1] : " Verily, God created

[1] From here, and as far as line 3 on the next page of the text, is given a quotation from the third *Ṣaḥîfa* from the *Ṣaḥifatu'n-nuẓirîn* (cf

There has been an Imam in the world ever since the Day when God asked His creatures: "Am I not your Lord?"[1] The Imam must be the wisest of men,—it makes no difference to him whether his community elects him or not. God says (Cor. II, 118): "My covenant touches not the evildoers". This means: My covenant, which is Imamat, is not for the wicked.

Another proof is (Cor. XI, 115): "Lean not unto those who do wrong", i.e. do not befriend the evildoers. And another proof (Cor. XLIX, 6): "If there come to you a sinner with information, then discriminate",—this indicates that you should not act in accordance with the advice of an evildoer, or otherwise you will be sinful yourself. Imamat will never belong to the vile, and it is sinful to befriend evildoers.

[Here a passage is omitted, in which the author tells that there are many false *hadîths* which were invented to support the claims of the different political parties, and lines of caliphs. The author summarily refutes them. In the course of argument the author refers to the work called *al-Jam' bayna's-Ṣaḥîḥayn*, which he styles "one of the most authoritative works of the Sunnites"[2]].

[35] God the Most High in His Coran has revealed (Cor. III, 138): "Muḥammad is but an Apostle; apostles have passed away before his time". This means that if they were apostles of God (?) Muḥammad surely must be an Apostle of God. Muḥammad is chosen by God, as is said in the Coran (XXXVI, 1): "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate! Y.S. By the wise Qur'ân", etc.—i.e. O Muḥammad, thou art better than all, and thou art one of the apostles. "Verily, thou art of the apostles following the right way" (Cor. XXXVI, 2-3). Therefore it is clear that Muḥammad, the Apostle of God, was ordered to show the right way to men so that they should not fall into error and sin. It is said (Cor. LIII, 3-4): "He does not speak out of lust. It is but an inspiration inspired", i.e. his speeches are inspired or conveyed through Jabra'îl.

Ibn 'Abbâs relates this *ḥadîth* from the Prophet himself: "We are prophets, and we do not bequeath to anyone that we leave except to those who deserve this", i.e. the succeeding descendants (*dhurriyyat*), about whom God has said (Cor. III, 30): "..... the descendants who succeed one another, and God both hears and knows", i.e. We left the Coran and the *Ahli Bayt* amongst you; and all that is left, is left in truth

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[1] From Cor. VII, 171.

[2] Two works with this title are mentioned by Brockelmann: the earlier, by Abû 'Abdi'l-lâh Muḥammad b. Abî Naṣr Futûḥ al-Mayurqî (born 420/1029, d. 488/1095) (cf. I, 368); and the later, by 'Abdu'l-Ḥaqq b. 'Abdi'r-Raḥmân Ibn al-Kharrâṭ al-Ishbîlî (b. 510/1116, d. 581/1185) (cf. I, 371). Most probably here the latter is referred to, as the better known of the two.

a leaf falls from the tree; and when a child is born in a Shi'ite family a new leaf comes out in the place of that fallen one". And it is related from Ibn 'Abbâs that Jabra'îl said to the Apostle of God: "Thou art a tree, and 'Alî and Fâtima are the branches of that tree, and the fruits of that tree are her holy sons, while the leaves of the tree are Shi'ites and the supporters (*mawâliyân*) of the *Ahli Bayt.*"

The "good word" means faith, and the "good tree" means one of the faithful (*mu'min*). God revealed in the *sûrat ar-Raḥmân* (LV, 22-23): "From both of them come forth pearls and corals,—then which of your Lord's bounties will ye twain deny?" This means that the pearls and corals symbolize the *Ahli Bayt* of the Apostle of God. And the Prophet said that Murtaḍâ 'Alî, Fâtima, and their two sons are alluded to here.

It is related from Ibn 'Abbâs, from Salmân, Sa'd ibn Jubayr, and Sufyân Thawrî [1] that when rain-water descends from the door of the heaven, and a drop falls into a shell, which is in the sea, a pearl appears. The sea here means the Prophet, Murtaḍâ 'Alî and Fâṭima, and the pearls and corals are Imam Hasan and Imam Ḥusayn. And the Apostle of God himself said: "God created me and my uncle's son as one tree",—i.e. that he is the trunk of that tree, and 'Alî is the branch of that tree, while Hasan and Ḥusayn are the fruits of it, the leaves being the followers and Shi'ites. Every one who grasps that tree or its branches [34] is saved from Hell and Fire. But every one who does not, and who disobeys, is a sinner,—he will undergo a painful punishment. The Prophet also said: "I leave with you two treasures,—if you keep them you will never err: the Book of God and my "close relatives" (*'itrat*), who are the *Ahli Bayt.* They (and the Coran) will not be separated one from the other until you reach the tank of Kawthar (on the Day of Judgment)."

Thus it is plain that amongst the seventy-three sects of Islam the only community that will attain salvation is the one that follows Ismâ'îl, and the Ismaili Imams; here is the proof of this—(Cor. XXXIII, 33): "God only wishes to take away from you, as the members of his Prophet's family (*Ahli Bayt*), all uncleanness, and to purify you thoroughly". This is a correct indication of the meaning which is as follows: God removes you, O *Ahli Bayt*, from everything that is unclean and vile, keeping you clean and guarding you from every form of pollution of this world. [Follows a passage in which it is said that all Imams are *ma'ṣûm*, sinless, but the first three caliphs surely could not claim to be this.]

[1] The famous Shi'ite saint and the *râwî* of *hadîths*, a contemporary of the Prophet. Sa'd ibn Jubayr, mentioned here, is a secondary Shi'ite saint, also of the same time.

passed, till the end of the day. And that tree is "not of the West" because the Sun does not shine much from sunrise till noon.[1]

It is also said that the olive tree has a property of never seeking shade; it always remains under the sunshine, so that it is burnt by it; through this the tree and its fruit never remain unripe. The hotter the sun is, the more it benefits the tree, which avoids every form of hindrance or obstacle which gives shadow. It is said that this tree originally came from Paradise, and was brought thence to this world. Not being one of the trees of this world, it cannot be termed Eastern or Western.

And, as it was mentioned, such a light is burnt in the houses of "great men", the "great men" being prophets, saints, apostles, and the successors (*Ahli Bayt*) of the Prophet. And that tree is the tree of Ṭûbâ which grows by the tank of Kawthar, and the branches of which spread all over the seven heavens. Its roots are in the back of the Bull and the Fish. Its branches cast a shadow from the East to the West, and a branch of it hangs over a window of the cell of every inhabitant of Paradise:—he finds on it everything that he needs.[2] This tree is the symbol of the Last of the Apostles and the Guide of the paths, the Messenger of God; and also of 'Alî and his successors, as God revealed it in the chapter "Abraham" (Cor. XIV, 29): "Dost thou not see how God strikes out a parable? A good word is like a good tree whose root is firm, and whose branches are in the sky", i.e. O Muḥammad, dost thou know how God strikes a parable of thee, and of thy successors (*Ahli Bayt*)? He mentions that they are similar to the holy formula of *tawhîd*, saying that every "good word" is like a sacred tree, which is the tree of Ṭûbâ, the roots of which are firm in the earth, and the branches of which are in the sky. It is related from Imam Ja'far the Ṣâdiq, and he related it from Imam Muḥammad Bâqir that the "good tree" **[33]** is the Apostle of God, its branches are Murtaḍâ 'Alî, and its root is Fâṭima the Zahrâ, the "Best of women", the daughter of the Apostle of God,—prayers of God be upon her! And the fruits of that tree are the sons of Fâtima, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, including the successors of the later. And the leaves of that tree are the Shi'ites and the followers of 'Alî (*mawâliyân*).[3] Then he said: "Whenever a Shi'ite dies,

[1] In the text, line 2, instead of *ba-tâbad* better to read *na-tâbad*, and on line 3—*na-mî-tâbad*. The earth is here regarded as flat and immoveable.

[2] Cf. further on, p. 107 (text), where similar matters are narrated about the Ṭûbâ-tree.

[3] The double Plural of this term (instead of the original Plural *mawâlî*, from *mawlâ*) probably shows that this passage is derived from an Arabic work. Here it is used in its original sense of "client", i.e. freedman, or new convert from non-Arab communities, as opposed to *Shî'at*, i.e. supporters of 'Alids from amongst pure Arabs.

Some other people again say that the "niche" means 'Abdu'l-Muṭallib,[1] the "lamp",—'Abdu'l-lâh,[2] and the "wick," the one who ascended to heaven, i.e. Muḥammad, who is neither from the East, nor from the West, but an inhabitant of Mekka which is the centre of the world.

It is also related from the true Imam (*Imâmi bar ḥaqq*) Ja'far the Sâdiq, that he said: "We are the "niche", and the "wick of the lamp" is our ancestor, Muḥammad the Muṣtafâ; and God guides through our Protectorship (*walâyat*) whomsoever He pleases".

Ibn Bâbûya,—mercy of God be upon him!—who was one of the great associates of the Imam (i.e. Ja'far the Sâdiq)[3] in his work *Kitâbu't-tawḥîd*, relates from 'Îsâ ibn Râshid,[4] who related from Imam Muhammad Bâqir that the expression "the niche in which there is a lamp" means the light of 'Alî in the bountiful breast of the Commander of the Faithful, 'Alî ibn Abî Tâlib, because the knowledge of the Prophet completely fills the heart of 'Alî. The Prophet said: "I am the city of knowledge, and 'Alî is the gate of it". The same Imam explains the meaning of the expression "the oil of which well-nigh would give light" as: the world itself is about to give out the wisdom (*'ilm*) which belongs to the successors of "the glory of mankind" (i.e. Muḥammad the Mustafâ), even before any one asks about it.

The expression "light upon light" means that the Imam is directly supported by the light of Divine wisdom and foresight, which is eternal. (When one Imam dies) another, who is also a successor of the Prophet, comes, and this continuity has never been broken, and never will be, from the time of Adam, to the time of the Final Prophet, and after him, to the advent of the *Qâ'im* of Resurrection. The Imam is the *Waṣî* (here—*awṣiyâ*) whom the True One makes His Caliph, or lieutenant on earth, and is to mankind the proof of His existence. The earth will never at any time be without one of them, so that mankind should always praise the True One, the Most High.

The "wick" of that "lamp" is raised above and saturated with oil, which symbolizes the knowledge of the Unity of God (*tawḥîd*), just as purity, **[32]** light and splendour "over them" also mean oils of different kinds. "Neither of the East, nor of the West" means that the tree does not grow in the Eastern lands where the Sun does not shine much after the noon has

1 The grandfather of Muḥammad.

2 The father of Muḥammad.

3 As we have seen above (p. 23, note 2), Ibn Bâbûya flourished a hundred years after the death of Imam Ja'far Ṣâdiq.

4 See the *Kitâbu't-tawḥîd*, p. 113. The *isnâd* which is given here, should be: "said Ṭarîf b. Nâṣiḥ from 'Îsâ b. Râshid, from Muhammad b. 'Alî b. al-Ḥusayn".

So far we were giving the *tafsîr*, or plain interpretation (of the "Verse of Light");—now we may take up its *ta'wîl*, or allegorical interpretation.

The learned have much to say of these matters—of ideas or abstractions (*ma'qûlât*), the sensual perceptions (*maḥsûsât*), and the allegory (*tamthîl*). Some of them say that by the "light" here is meant faith, by the "niche"—the faithful, and by the "lamp",—his heart. They symbolize faith by a light burning inside the lantern (*qandîl*). This lantern is similar to a glittering star. The formula of the *tawḥîd*, i.e. profession of the unity of God, is symbolized by the blessed tree. This tree has its share and lot in sunshine, which means fear of sin.

The greatness of this formula (*tawḥîd*) will well-nigh light up the world with its brightness even without its being uttered by the faithful. But when it is pronounced, and if the pronouncing of it has a special purpose, then, as we have said, the ray of 'Alî's light becomes manifested. Some people say that this allegory implies the Prophet, and that the "niche" is the bountiful breast of that Great Man, while the "lamp" is his luminous heart, and the "wick"—his pure actions, because worship comes from Prophethood. And the expression "Neither of the East nor of the West, the oil of which would", etc., indicates its being free from Jewish and Christian ideas, because Jews, when praying, turn to the West, and the Christians—to the East. The blessed tree is the tree of Prophethood, i.e. Abraham, the Friend of God, because the prophets are his descendants. And the pure light of Muḥammad the Chosen and of his successors will well-nigh shine for the people though no fire reaches it.

Other people say that the "niche" is Abraham, and the "lamp" is Ismâ'îl, and the "wick" is the Apostle of God, because the latter sometimes is alluded to as the "lamp" (*sirâj*). And the meaning of the expression: "the oil of which would well-nigh give light", etc., is that the good actions of that Great Man (i.e. the Prophet) are apparent before (anything) was, is, or will be; and that he will receive inspiration (*waḥy*). And the light of 'Alî is the pure light of the Prophet, and also that it descends from all prophets, such as Adam to Abraham and to the Final Prophet,—just as we mentioned above concerning the verse (Cor. III, 30): "Verily, God has chosen Adam, and Noah", etc. **[31]**.

From the time of Adam to the time of 'Abdu'l-Manâf[1]
They were of pure descent, born by holy mothers.[2]

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[1] 'Abdu'l-Manâf was great-great-grandfather of Muḥammad.
[2] The same *bayt* is quoted on p. 22 (p. 27 of the text).

glass lantern, shining most brilliantly and purely. And the light and radiation of prophethood and of *walâyat* speak without the need of an angel descending (with a message) from heaven ".

'Alî gives orders to the great king (?) to return,—
'Alî does the work of the Prophet without the assistance of Jabra'îl.

The same "Verse of Light" (*âyatu'n-nûr*), mentioned above, i.e. "God is the light of the heavens," etc. (Cor. XXIV, 35), [29] means that the light of prophethood and of *walâyat* make the heavens and the earth full of light. "They are lit by the moon, the stars, the sun, the lights of this world, and by the angels of light." And the prophets, the *waṣîs*, and the learned teachers who are sent by the Guiding Imams, all tell us that the meaning of the "place for the light" is the spout (*anbûba*) which is placed in the middle of the candelabre (or lantern). If so, the *miṣbâḥ* should be the wick, which is placed in the spout. And the properties of that light which appears in the "dress" (*kiswat*) of wind, may be imagined from the simile: a street in which there is a lamp, placed in a hanging glass lantern (*qandîl*), and the latter shines and glitters, for it is said further in the same verse of the Coran (XXIV, 35): ". . . . the lantern as though it were a glittering star; it is lit from a blessed tree, an olive, neither of the East, nor of the West". Thus this glass lantern is like a star which shines brilliantly, being fed by the oil of the olive tree, which is the most blessed and most useful, and which grows in the Promised Land. Seven prophets prayed over it: Abraham, the Friend of God, was one of them. It does not grow in the Eastern lands, such as Tibet and China, nor in the Western lands as Tanjer or Tartûs. But (Cor. XXIV, 35): ". . . . . its oil would well-nigh give light, even though no fire touched it,—light upon light;—God guides to His light whomsoever He pleases". This means that this light shines and glitters so much that it makes everything shine brightly, even without the aid of fire, and even more than this, for— "light upon light; God guides to His light whomsoever He pleases". By the light that this tree gives, God the Allhighest guides whomsoever He pleases towards the light of religion and faith in him, i.e. towards the Imam of the time. "And God (Cor. XXIV, 35) strikes out parables for men, and God all things doth know", i.e. O Muḥammad, the dawn of God the Allhighest makes the parables enlighten you. This means that He explains abstract ideas in the form of concrete conceptions connected with visible objects (*ma'qûlât dar libâsi maḥsûsât*). And the day will come when the people will understand them, and their purpose will become apparent to all. God knows everything, be it the most subtle abstract idea, or perceptions through the senses (*maḥsûsât*), [30] or allegory.

means that God guides and leads his slaves from the darkness of idolatry, error and perdition to salvation by the light of the Imam of the time, i.e. his light of guidance. Really, a source of Light is God who brought this world from the mystery of non-existence into being.[1] Its existence is apparent in the seed, and it is the hidden creator and maker. Thus the light of Lordship **[28]** is the Imam of the time, the light which fills the heavens and the earth,—how is it you cannot discover it in your own heart ?

In the *Kitâbu't-tawḥîd*, by Ibn Bâbûya,[2] the properties (*ṣifât*) of the Great Light are discussed, the importance of which is very great to the world and its inhabitants (Cor. XXIV, 35) : " God is the light of the heavens and the earth ; His light is as a niche in which is a lamp, and the lamp is in a glass ". This means that the light of the Truth the Allhighest is in the heavens and the earth ; it shines from the lamp of the Prophet ; by its light God guides the people. And the " glass " is the heart of 'Alî, who is the *Waṣî* of the Prophet. And the " star " glittering as a jewel,[3] lit from the blessed olive tree (*zaytûn*), is Abraham, the Friend of God, and 'Imrân. The Prophet was a descendant of the former, and 'Alî was a descendant of the latter,—'Alî ibn Abî Ṭâlib was neither a Jew, nor a Christian.

The Apostle of God said : " Knowledge almost comes out of the mouth of the Successor of the Prophet, even before he starts speaking ". The light of 'Alî is the light of Imâmat which after him (remains) in his progeny (*dhurriyyat*). And an Imam, during the period of his office and in his lifetime, is the Guide of the people. His purpose is to lead mankind from the desert of ignorance to the boundaries of the abode of faith, of belief in One God, and of knowledge of Him, thus leading the mankind to reach God and to abide in God (*Khudâ va Khudâ'î*), rescuing from the stuffiness of ignorance, which is a Hell of stupidity, and leading it into the open air of spirituality.

The Apostle of God says : " The *lamp* (mentioned in the Coran) is the light which contains the (Divine) knowledge (*'ilm*). I will transfer it to my Executor (*Waṣî*) when I die. It is like a

1 The peculiar order of words of this passage may suggest that it is a literal translation from Arabic.

2 Ibn Bâbûya, or—to give him his full name—Abû Ja'far Muhammad b. 'Alî b. al-Ḥusayn b. Mûsâ Ibn Bâbûya al-Qummî, surnamed Shaykh Ṣadûq (d. 381/991), was the author of many famous Shi'ite works. His *Kitâbu't-tawḥîd* is not mentioned by Brockelmann (I, 187), but it was lithographed, apparently in Tehran, in 1285/1869. The commentary on the *âyatu'n-Nûr* is found in the 15th *bâb* of the treatise, and the matters dealt with here are treated on pp. 110–114 of the lith. edition. In our text the Arabic original is either almost literally translated, or very closely paraphrased.

3 As is well known, there was a belief in the antiquity that jewels themselves emit light.

the knowledge of God to mankind, "and to be My Testimony (*ḥujjat*) to them".

And I may add that he should be a Fatimid[1]; and he should be in every time, and every circumstance, as is said in the Coran (III, 30): "Verily, God has chosen Adam, and Noah, and Abraham's people, and 'Imrân's people above the world,—a progeny (*dhurriyyat*), of which one succeeds the other; God both hears and knows (all)". Thus God says that the prophets descend one from the other, as we have proved it here. And in another place (Cor. XXVII, 16) it is said: "And Solomon was David's heir". Concerning Zachariah, the Prophet said (Cor. XIX, 5-6): "Then grant me from [27] Thee a successor (*Walî*) to be my heir",—i.e. so Zachariah prayed to God. And similarly Moses inherited (his office) from Shu'ayb, as is stated in the Coran (VI, 83-87): "This is our proof which we gave to Abraham against his people:—We raise the rank of whom We will; verily, thy Lord is wise and knowing. And We gave to him Isaac and Jacob, each did We guide. And Noah We had guided before, and all his seed,—David and Solomon, and Job, and Joseph, and Moses and Aaron,—for thus do We reward those who do good. And Zachariah, and John, and Jesus and Elias, all righteous ones; and Ishmael, and Elisha, and Jonah, and Lot, each one have we preferred above the worlds; and of their fathers, and their seed, and brethren; We have chosen them, and guided them into the right way".—Thus it is proved that the prophets inherited the office one from the other, and each one is a testimony of the claims of the other.

From the time of Adam to the time of 'Abdu'l-Manâf
They were brought from the pure descent, born by holy mothers.[2]

Thus it is clear that the only true Imams are the Ismaili Imams, who are the successors (*dhurriyyat*) and the "family" of the Prophet. The latter himself said: "One who dies without having recognized the Imam of his time, dies like a heathen, and the heathens go to Hell". It is just as if he died without following the Prophet. And God says in the Coran (XVII, 73): "The day when We will call all men through their religious leader (Imam)".

God the Allhighest says in the *sûrat* of "Light" in the Coran, referring to the position of the successors (*dhurriyyat*) of the Prophet (XXIV, 35): "God is the light of the heavens and the earth; His light is as a niche in which is a lamp".[3] This

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[1] Cf. above, p. 16.

[2] The same quotation is repeated on p. 31 of the text.

[3] These discussions are apparently derived from some Ithna-'ashari works. One of them, the *Kitâbu't-tawḥîd*, by Ibn Bâbûya al-Qummî, is explicitly referred to, but the author's version contains also other matters which are not found in that work.

When I am in Noah's Ark, with the Prophet and the *Waṣî*,
Let the earth be overtaken by the deluge, let the sky rain misfortunes!
The dog that was with the Ephesian Sleepers was saved.
How will not I be saved, being with the Successors of the Prophet?

We have already described all those seventy-two erring sects; now we have to give details of that one sect which leads to salvation.[1]

This sect consists of the people who believe that there is always an Imam, and that the world cannot exist without him. There always is, always was, and always will be an Imam, in accordance with the commandment of the Coran (XXXVI, 11): "And everything have We counted in a plain indication (*Imâmi mubîn*)". One cannot imagine this by himself. The world is continuously changing, and it cannot exist by itself; therefore, the existence of the world must depend on someone. (This matter will be discussed in detail in the chapter dealing with Imamat). And such "someone" is always present: always was, and always will be. This "someone" is the Imam,—prostration [26] and glorification be due at his mention![2]

The Prophet said: "If the world remains without an Imam even for a moment (or while, or minute), verily, the earth would perish with all its population". The Imam looks upon the existence of the world a hundred thousand times every day so that this world may remain alive. And different prophets have said (the same thing) in the books revealed by God, i.e. the Torah, the New Testament, the Psalms, and the Coran of the Apostle of God.

In the Psalms, the Torah, the New Testament, and the Coran,—
In these four books there is (the mention of) 'Alî.

Every prophet who came, referred to the Lieutenant of God (*Qâ'im*)[3] of his time. The Prophet says that the Imam is always present in the world, and there never is a time when no one can get into touch with him. He always has a "proof", *ḥujjat*, and *dâ'î*, preacher, who inform the followers, and reveal the truth to those who seek after it, being specially commissioned for this purpose by him. God Himself says in the Coran (?)[4]: "The knowledge of God is but recognition of the Imam of the time". He is always present in order to reveal

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[1] Here again both the texts, this one and that of the HB of Abû Isḥâq, begin to agree to a considerable extent.
[2] Again the texts are different.
[3] i.e. the Imam.
[4] Cf. above, p. 16, note 2, and p. 20, note 1.

of God. As God the Allhighest commands: "The knowledge of God means the knowledge of the Imam of the time".[1]

It is related of Imam Ḥasan,—blessing of God be upon him!—that he delivered a sermon, mentioning in it: "I am a descendant of the Prophet; and God made devotion to me obligatory to every Muslim, as commanded in the Coran (?)": .... "and to both his uncles, and both grandsons, and his helpers, and *anṣâr* may devotion be given till the day of Judgment".[2] This means: till the "Last Day".

And the Prophet said: "After me my community will be split into seventy-three sects; but only one of them leads to salvation, the others,—to Hell".[3] The King of men (*Shâhi mardân*, i.e. 'Alî), Salmân, Bû Dharr, Jâbir Anṣârî, Suhayl,[4] the *muhâjirs*, the *anṣârs*—all of them—were present on that occasion. The King of men then asked: "O Prophet of God,—who will be saved? And who are those who are condemned to perdition?"—The Prophet replied: "O 'Alî, it is thou and thy followers (*shî'at*) who are the happy; O 'Alî, it is thou and thy followers who are the superior". [25] This is in accordance with the Coran (VI, 154): "Verily, this is My right way; follow it then, and follow not various paths".

After Aḥmad his followers became divided into seventy-three sects,
One of them right, all others leading to perdition.
That single sect is those who follow the *Ahli Bayt*,
Other seventy-two are full of errors.
O you, these "others", nowadays only the Successors of the Prophet save,—
Open your ears, and listen to (the Prophet's) reply.
I, from amongst these people, have decided to follow the Successors of the Prophet,
But take as thy leader, friend, any one thou likest.

As the Prophet said in a *ḥadîth*: "My descendants (*dhurriyyat*) are like Noah's Ark: whoever got into it, is saved, and whoever opposes them,—is drowned".[5]

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1 Here again this *ḥadîth* is treated as a verse of the Coran. Cf. above, p. 16, note 2.

2 Again a sentence wrongly regarded as a verse of the Coran. The *anṣâr*, as is known, were the inhabitants of Medina who followed the Prophet after his *hijrat* to that town.

3 As may be seen, this chapter opens with simply a paraphrase of the contents of the second chapter.

4 All these persons are great Shi'ite saints, equally recognized by all Shi'ite subsects. Very little authentic is known about their biographies. The information about Salman is excellently summed up in L. Massignon's pamphlet *Salmân Pâk*, in the series of the Société des Études Iraniennes, No. 7 (Tours, 1934). For others see in the *Encyclopædia of Islam*.

5 This *ḥadîth* is already quoted by Ibn Bâbûya, in his *Risâlatu'l-I'tiqâdât* (Najaf, 1343), p. 139.

CHAPTER III

Explaining the truth that except for this true religion of the Ismailis there is no religion which secures salvation.

In the Second Chapter we have already found that everyone ought to have a religion, and that such a religion must be only that of the descendants of Muḥammad and 'Alî, in accordance with the command of God Himself (Cor. IV, 135): "(Believe in) God, His angels, His prophets, His books, and the Last Day",[1] and that the latter expression means Our Lord 'Alî and his successors, who are his direct descendants (*dhurriyyat*). Belief in them is obligatory. God the Allhighest says (Cor. IV, 62): "Obey God, and obey the Apostle, and those in authority amongst you", i.e. Murtaḍâ 'Alî,—may God ennoble his countenance![2]—this is according to the command of God (Cor. V, 60): "Verily, God and His Apostle are your protectors (*walî*).[3] Those who believe, are steadfast in prayer, give alms, and bow down". This means: I have appointed 'Alî as a Divine Protector, leaving to him, who is My Friend, the beloved, and the closest one to Me, to decide the questions of the prayer, the fast, the *ḥajj*, and all other matters connected with this life and the future life. Prayer, the fast, and the *ḥajj* will be accepted at My palace from everyone who does these for the love of 'Alî, the Divine Protector; but these will not be accepted at My palace from those who do them without love of 'Alî and his successors, even if they at the same time show obedience and devotion as great as the distance from the West to the East. **[24]** "Verily, God is your Protector" (Cor. V, 60).

Thus we see that 'Alî is the Divine Protector (of mankind), and the *Waṣî* of Musṭafâ: obedience to them means obedience to God the Allhighest. And God in the Coran (XL, 47 ?) says: "Verily, (I have appointed him) as the Divine Protector on the earth, and have handed over to him the Divine command (*amr*), and to him belongs the authority (*ḥukm*) in all matters concerning worship". This means that worship of him is worship

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[1] Cf. above, p. 1, note 1. Though the initial lines of the text literally agree with the corresponding place in the HB Abû Isḥâq, yet afterwards the two versions are quite different, as far as the beginning of p. 26 of the text.

[2] This form of invocation of blessing upon 'Ali, as is known, is chiefly used by Sunnites. Here it appears quite irregularly, alternating with *'alay-hi's-salâm* (used also by the Ithna-'asharis), and the Ismaili form, —*li-dhikri-hi's-sujûd wa't-tasbîḥ*.

[3] Again the same doubtful verse, cf. above, p. 15, note 3.

brothers. (A similar miraculous story is usually narrated about Imam Zaynu'l-'âbidîn). Only Ismâ'îl is the *mustaqarr*, or real hereditary Imam, and all other brothers are only "personal" or acting Imams, *mustauda'*. Mûsâ Kâzim swears allegiance to Ismâ'îl. They are both the same in their mission, not opposed one to the other, the difference being only outward.] [1]

May Our Lord save all his faithful followers from the evil of those who follow the Devil, and may He make them to see, think, and hear by the light of His knowledge!

To him is our account to be given, and He is all that we need!

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[1] Cf. further on, p. 75 (text).

or in error, the knowledge of God would be neglected (*mu'aṭṭal*), and the Truth (*kawni ḥaqq*) would disappear,—God save us from such beliefs!

God has also said: "... the day when We will call all men through their Guide (Imâm)" (Cor. XVII, 73), i.e. on the day of Judgment. And in a *ḥadîth* it is also said by the Prophet: "If the earth remains without an Imam for even a moment, it will perish with all its population". This will also be explained in the chapter dealing with the question of Imamat.

Some other sects believe that Imamat continued until the time of Ḥasan 'Askarî, and from him it was transferred to his son Muḥammad, who is the promised Messiah (Mahdî), expected to come in the end of time. He is alive now, and has been so for more than five hundred years,[1] hidden in a cave, or well. He is soon going to come out of it. They tell of many fantastic things concerning his impending return, fix the time of his advent, and disclose that he will fulfil certain prophecies (*sharṭ*).

To this I can reply: "If your Imam is coming at any time that he thinks best, and in any way he likes, of what use are all your calculations and prophecies about the time of his advent?" Besides, every normal man knows that no human being can live for such a long time, and cannot remain all this time hidden in a cave. They may try to bring forward the example of Noah, who lived about a thousand years, as mentioned in the Coran (XXIX, 13): "And he dwelt among them for a thousand years save fifty years". Or the story of the Ephesian Sleepers. To this I can reply: "All this needs an allegorical interpretation (*ta'wîl*), and only with the help of it can be understood".

And if Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan 'Askarî was an Imam, it would have been most necessary for people to get into touch with him. Otherwise it would have resulted in a suspension of Imamat, for people in this world would have remained without knowledge of God (*ma'rifat*), having had no proof (*ḥujjat*) of His existence. Such an Imam would have been a source of great suffering to humanity, while the real purpose of the Imam is to be a source of Divine mercy to the world. But it is well known to everyone that nobody has ever come into touch with him, and no wonder,—**[23]** how can one come into touch with someone who does not exist?

[Here a few pages have been lost in the original MS. The passage deals with the story of the dispute which arose amongst the sons of Imam Ja'far Ṣâdiq immediately after his death, when all of them claimed Imamat for themselves. Ultimately they go to the *Ḥajaru'l-aswad*, the sacred stone in the corner of the Ka'ba, and ask it to decide the matter. And, surely, the stone begins to speak, at the prayer of Ismâ'îl, showing a good knowledge of the Coran, and supporting Ismâ'îl's rights against his

[1] As is known, he disappeared in 260/874.

[21] May Our Lord help us, and save us from the devils in the form of false Imams!

There are some people who maintain that they are Shi'ites, the followers of Muṣṭafâ and Murtaḍâ, and of their successors. Are not they really good and respectable people? So, I asked them: "And what is your belief?" Their reply was that they believed in the commandment (*'ahd*) concerning the Imamat of Our Lord 'Alî, and they wondered whether he was to return (to this world in person). Other people believe in the Imamat of Zayd, son of Our Lord 'Alî.[1] Others again believe in the Imamat of Muḥammad ibn Ḥanafiyya, who is expected to return. All this is very amusing, because these persons were not appointed by a *naṣṣ* (or direct command), nor had they the Divine commandment (*'ahd*) regarding their Imamat; but their followers have invented theories (about them) which are bewildering to every sane man. *Khilâfat* becomes void when there is no explicit appointment, or special indications, or knowledge, or spiritual wisdom. God in His revealed Word said "The knowledge of God is recognition of the Imam of his time".[2] Because the Imam, being the proof (*ḥujjat*) of the existence of God, is always present, and conveys to mankind the knowledge of One.

Neither courage, nor daring, nor external piety, nor precedent, nor the agreement of the community, nor any practical considerations make the *khilâfat* valid. I would say that the condition is the caliph's being a descendant (of the Prophet) through Fâtima. He should be a true successor of his predecessors (*dar 'ahd*), and the only one of his time (*dar 'aṣr*). Some people say he need not necessarily be the son of his predecessor (*dar 'ahd*), and that it is possible that at a given moment there may be ten imams. Though the absurdity of such a belief is quite obvious, we have given in our preceding explanations, and in the statements above, a clear demonstration of the futility of such ideas. We will also mention this in the chapter devoted to the question of Imamat.

Other sects, again, believe in the return of Our Lord Ja'far (the Sâdiq).

But we believe that the meaning of Imamat is leadership of humanity, conveying to it the real knowledge (*ma'rifati ḥaqîqî*) of God (*Khudâ*), and of the ways leading to spiritual union with Him (*Khudâ'î*). Such a Guide is necessary at every period, as otherwise mankind [22] would remain in ignorance

[1] 'Alî, as is known, had no son called Zayd. Imam Zayd was the son of Ḥasan ibn 'Alî.

[2] This passage does not occur in the Coran. It may be noted that the author on many occasions, as will be seen further on, sometimes even quite systematically, regards various Arabic sentences as Coranic verses. Perhaps to some extent this may be due to the interference of the pious but ignorant scribes.

successor, the *Waṣî*. And no one can be his *Waṣî* except the one who is nearest to him. In the case of the Prophet there was no one nearer to him than 'Alî,—prostration and glorification be due at his mention! Those authorities who allegorically interpreted the Coran, such as Ibn 'Abbâs and others, merely taught what they had learnt from 'Alî. His discourses, in the form of allegorical interpretation (*dar ṭarîqati ta'wîl*), are so well known that there is no need to mention them here. There are also many *ḥadîths* which are related from the Prophet concerning 'Alî. For instance: "I am the city of knowledge, and 'Alî is the gate of it"; or "Thou (i.e. 'Alî) art in like relation to me as Aaron to Moses"; "Thy flesh is my flesh, thy blood is my blood".

Someone may ask you about the Qâ'im,[1] or the One who is the source of the *ta'wîl*, or allegorical interpretation, One "whose sandals have caught in each other",[2] or about the story of the events at Ghadîr Khumm, or the meaning of the verse of the Coran (IV, 62): "Obey God, and obey the Apostle, and those in authority amongst you". Reply: someone asked the Prophet, —who are these your "those in authority?"—He pointed at Our Lord 'Alî, and said (Cor. V, 60): "Verily, God and the Prophet are your protectors (*walî*)".[3] Once the Prophet was asked: "What is faith (*îmân*)?" He replied: "I believe in God, His angels, His (revealed) books, His Apostle, and the Last Day".[4] Here the "Last Day" means Our Lord 'Alî, because the Prophet, the one who conveys the revelation (*tanzîl*), is the "First Day". Therefore the *Waṣî*, who gives the allegorical interpretation (*ta'wîl*), must be the "Last Day",—and faith in him is obligatory. There are, as has been said, many verses in the Coran and many *ḥadîths* to the same effect.

We have explained here, from the point of view both of logic and tradition, that when any one falsely and without right assumes claims of being an Imam or a leader, it means, in reality, that he has no faith in the "Last Day", which is mentioned by the Prophet, and that he has never had the faith. Thus he is an unbeliever (*kâfir*) and an outcast (*murtadd*).

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1 As mentioned above (Introduction, II, 4), the author uses this term rather vaguely. Here it obviously means Imam in general.

2 Allusion to the well-known story about the Prophet's putting right the sandals of 'Alî, who was then a child.

3 This verse (V, 60), which is quoted so often here (cf. also pp. 23, 40, 41, 91 of the orig. text), is usually accompanied by a Persian translation from which one may see that the author reads *wallâ-kum* instead of the correct *waliyyu-kum*, translating: verily, God has appointed to you a *walî*, and His Apostle. It is interesting that in HB Abû Isḥâq in corresponding places no translation is given. As the sentence becomes quite ungrammatical if we accept this reading, the ordinary version is adopted here throughout the translation.

4 Cf. above, p. 1, footnote 1.

chance to meet. Some of them said: "We follow the example (*sunnat*) of the Prophet and the practice of the community (*jamâ'at*); we follow the Coran, the *ḥadîths*, the *ijmâ'*,[1] and the deduction by reasoning (*qiyâs*)". I asked these people: "Have you personally heard the explanation of the Coran and the *ḥadîths* from the Prophet himself, or from the people who personally learnt these from the Prophet?"—They replied: "No". Then I asked: "How did you come to know God from this Coran?"[2] They replied: "With the help of dictionaries". I said: "There are many words in dictionaries which have a great number of meanings,—how do you select the right equivalent?" They replied: "We accept the decision of experts (*ijtihâd*), following those variants which withstand our criticism (*ra'y wa qiyâs*)". I asked them: "Do you not relate this *ḥadîth*: whoever interprets the Coran arbitrarily, commits absolute impiety (*kufr*)? **[20]** And also another *ḥadîth*: whoever falsely attributes a statement to me (i.e. the Prophet), will be seated in fire (in Hell)?"

[The passage which is omitted here continues the same controversy, in the same strain. Every school of Islam interprets the Coran and *ḥadîths* in a different way, holds different opinions as to the fundamental principles of *fiqh*, etc., often contradicting themselves. Abû Ḥanîfa, e.g., regards allegorical interpretation of the Coran unlawful, and yet himself allegorically interprets such expressions as God's sitting on the *'arsh*, explaining the latter as *istîlâ'*; or *yad*, His hand, as *qudrat*, etc. Again, such authorities as Ghazâlî and Fakhru'd-dîn Râzî are very doubtful as to the legal authoritativeness of the *ijmâ'*, or consensus of the faithful. Many authorities doubt the validity of *qiyâs*, or deduction by analogy. The presence of so many doubtful points shows that the system is not completely sound.

After this the author takes up the question of the personal qualities of Abû Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Uthmân, apparently deriving many details of their biographies and characteristics from some Ithna-'ashari works. He refers to various spurious *ḥadîths* which were circulated to support the claims of the early caliphs.

The author then takes up a brief review of the biography of the Prophet, emphasizing the miraculous element, his struggle against the *munâfiqs*, and his relations with 'Alî. The latter's rights to succeed the Prophet are vigorously defended. His superhuman knowledge was generally recognized, and even his enemies and rivals referred to him in case of difficulties.

All these controversial matters are treated in a rather unrestrained and high pitched tone, while giving absolutely nothing new or specifically Ismailitic. Therefore there is no need to restore this lacuna in full.]

The revelation and the interpretation of the Coran cannot be connected with any one but the Prophet and his legitimate

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[1] *Ijmâ'*, or traditional consensus of the faithful, is recognized by the Sunnites as one of the foundations of the religion, together with the Coran and Sunna. Even the earliest known Ismaili works completely reject it.

[2] The term used in the original, *Kalâm*, obviously means here the Coran—*Kalâmu'l lâh*.

men, hand and foot, with strict and rigid prescriptions of an ordinary religion (*sharî'at*). He, the *Nâṭiq*, then always raises a *Waṣî* to remain after himself ; the *Waṣî* is the guardian of the inner meaning (*ta'wîl*) of the prescriptions of the *sharî'at*. Both the revealed law (*tanzîl*) of the *Nâṭiq*, and the explanation of the Divine allegories (*ta'wîl*) of the *Waṣî*, contain direct commandments concerning the Imam of the day, who is the lord of 18,000 worlds,—exalted be his mention !

When this *sharî'at* and this *ṭarîqat* [1] remain for a long time among the people, they take them for [19] the original and absolute truth, *ḥaqîqat*. They gradually cease to derive any longer much advantage from its formal side (*ẓâhir*). Then a new *Nâṭiq* is sent, who cancels the rules and laws (*sharî'at*) given by his predecessor, and, first of all, starts preaching the *ḥaqîqat*. And if the people again do not respond to this preaching, he lays the foundations of another allegorical system (*mithâl*), and again binds the people with the chains of strict laws. This is because the people, who are incapable of following the doctrine of the *ḥaqîqat*, are like cattle that are attracted only by straw and grass, but disregard the fruits. The obstinate animal needs a strong chain to bind it.

The new *Nâṭiq* similarly raises a *Waṣî* to come after him. In these seven millennial periods, which form a part of a great cycle of 360,000 years, some 170,000 years, or about this, have already elapsed. At its end, during the last period of seven thousand years, the Great Resurrection was to arrive. There were six Nâtiqs during it. The first of them was Adam, from Ceylon (Sarandîb) ; the second—Noah ; the third—Abraham ; the fourth—Moses ; the fifth—Jesus ; and the sixth—Muḥammad the Musṭafâ,—may God pray for him and his family, and bless him,—whose religion cancels those of all his predecessors. But the complete revelation was the " Great Rise " (*Qiyâmati qiyâmât*), at the end of the millennium which was his *dawr*. He himself said : " My community will become split after me into seventy-three sects. Seventy-two of them lead to perdition and error, and only one of them leads to salvation and peace ".[2]

Every sect, of course, pretends to be the only true one. I made inquiries from representatives of those, whom I had the

[1] This term occurs also on pp. 46, 69, 112 (text). The author uses it here as a synonym of the *sharî'at*, and it seems that it is introduced for stylistic purposes rather than for conveying a special meaning.

[2] Here ends the passage which is not found in the HB Abû Isḥâq, and the contents begin to agree, though widely varying in phraseology. Only in a few passages the agreement is literal. In the HB Abû Isḥâq from the beginning of the Second Chapter to this passage there are only six small pages dealing with the same question, i.e. the proof of the necessity of the Imam.

CHAPTER II

On the futility of the doctrine of the seventy-two (erring) sects.

People in the world can be divided into two different groups. First of all they can be divided into two kinds: atheists, who neither belong to [18] any recognized religion, nor follow any of the great prophets; they even do not search for a true religion. The other group is that of the people who belong to different religions. It is obvious that if there would be no necessity in one who possesses the knowledge of God, i.e. in the prophet, or in one whose reason is more perfect than the reasons of ordinary individuals of his time,—in such a case every one would have to rely only on his own reason whenever he tried to acquire the knowledge of God. It is well known how greatly reasons vary in strength, some of them being stronger than others. If a weak mind were capable of understanding the same matters as a stronger one, there would be no real difference between weak and strong reasons. But, as we have seen, there *is* much difference between them, and the weaker ones have to follow the stronger ones, so that, in following them, they attain a higher degree of perfection. And it is necessary that such gradation of reasons should culminate in one, the highest, higher than which there should be none, and which directly, without anything intervening, receives the Divine guidance (*ta'yîd*) from God Himself. He is the " proof " (*ḥujjat*) of the Real God (*Ḥaqq*), which must be available at every period of time. If there were other reasons, which similarly receive direct guidance from God, there would be the same confusion, as when relying on ordinary reasons. At every period many religions would thus spring up, and the ordinary people would remain uncertain as to which religion they should follow. Thus it is necessary that there should be one religion always, and one only, just as there must be one *ḥujjat* always, i.e. the human witness of the existence of God and of His commandments.

We now take up the question of the people who belong to different religions. We have to mention first that in every millennium (approximately), God sends a preacher (*Nâṭiq*), who, at the outset, starts preaching the highest and absolutely true religion (*ḥaqîqat*). But when his preaching has no effect, either because the people do not accept it, or do not understand it, or deliberately oppose it out of pride, as mentioned in the Coran, the *Nâṭiq* receives the order to hide his teaching in allegories. He thus throws a veil of greatness and glory over it, and chains

threshold of the house of the Lord, the Ruler of the world, the greatest Proof (*ḥujjat*) of God the Allhighest, Creator of the world and of humanity. It is about him that it is said: "The first thing that God created was his light", i.e. the light of the Prophet. And also: "The first thing that God created was the Pen (*Qalam*)". It is [17] also said that: "The first thing that God created was the Reason (*'Aql*)".

The One who is the Giver of bread to His slaves,
Sees what happens with every one of His followers.

Thus I had the honour to be presented to the great Lord, Mawlâ-nâ al-Mustanṣir bi'l-lâh,[1]—prayers and blessings of God be upon him! I was received with great honour and great favour. I was like an atom of dust upon which the Sun shone from the height of its glory.

After being treated with distinction which was greater every day, I was greatly honoured and royally favoured in being appointed the chief *dâ'î* (*dâ'î'd-du'ât*) of Khorasan. After this I remained for some time at the court of the Lord of "*kâf* and *nûn*" (i.e. the Creator). On one occasion the Imam summoned the *ḥujjats* and the *dâ'îs*. In his address the Imam asked Bâbâ Sayyid-nâ, whom to put in charge of Badakhshân. My grandfather,[2] Bâbâ Sayyid-nâ, suggested this humble slave. When Our Lord, the Imam, glanced in my direction, my heart became filled with light, and I fainted. He kindly said to me: "Sayyid Nâsir, I appoint thee the *ḥujjat* of Badakhshân,—God help thee". I kissed the earth in complete obedience, received my instructions, and started for Badakhshân, through Balkh. I made a sign, and hills came to meet me,—this was the miracle of the Imam. So it happened, all that was destined and decided, as it is with all human affairs,—otherwise what could an ordinary mortal do? So that I had to carry on, fostering the guiding and rightful Ismaili preaching,—"what God wills, exists, and what God does not will, never comes into existence".

Now, may this humble slave write in this book all that Our Lord,—great and Almighty He is,—puts in his mind. Verily, He is the best of all helpers and assistants. To Him is our account, and He, the One, is all that we need,—Our Lord!

[1] Mustanṣir bi'l-lâh, the Fatimid caliph of Egypt (427–487/1036–1094).

[2] This is simply an expression of respect, as it is understood now by the Ismailis of Central Asia, not implying real relation.

on the subject, as he understood it. I felt very sad, and hot tears ran down my cheeks. I reflected: "Why do they smite cold iron, what are they seeking? Why do they not seek after the real matter? How long will they run after their own fantasies, never turning towards the command of God, never answering His demand, in accordance with His command: "We have counted everything in the *Imâmi mubîn*" (Cor. XXXVI, 11)? My mind was occupied with these sad thoughts, my self-control was at breaking point, and I was very perplexed, when suddenly a person entered, and joined the people who were present. I did not know him, but his outward appearance suggested great piety. As soon as I noticed him, I wished **[16]** to find out who he was, and followed what he was saying. From the little that he said, one would have noticed at once that he knew the secret of the Water of Life, and of Eternal Existence. My heart told me: now that you have found the end of the thread, do not let it slip from your hand,—search, and do not miss the chance by not going after this man.

Hold firmly the belt of those who go up.—
Do not miss the advice of the wise.

When he left that assembly, I followed him resolutely. I asked him: "Man of angelic bearing, what is thy name, who are thy people, and where art thou going? I am sick, and full of sadness, I need medicine to cure my pain. My sickness is strange: it is neither headache, nor weakness, nor fever. Nothing on earth can cure it, as it has come from heaven".

When he saw my sickly countenance, he at once gave me the medicine, saying: "It is good for thee that we, being God's physicians, take no remuneration from anybody. We are fresh water, not foul food. But tell me, from whence cometh thy illness?"

I replied to him: "My sickness comes from this: God is one and the Prophet is one; therefore, all other religious leaders must be false and futile". He said: "Yes, so it is, and the true religious leader, Imam, the true religion, and the real proof of truth is only one, and the revealed book of God is one. My name is Bâbâ Sayyid-nâ,[1] and I am appointed in this province (*jazîra*) to lead those who are lost in the desert of errors, out to recognition of the Imam of the day,—exalted be his mention,—making them see and hear the great proof (*ḥujjati a'ẓam*), thus ultimately making them reach the eternal Paradise in future life".

I spent some time with him, and received great assistance, and, ultimately, had the lucky chance of going to kiss the

[1] This is the usual surname applied to Ḥasan b. aṣ-Ṣabbâḥ.

taught us" (*ibid.*, 30). It is narrated that Adam instructed angels as to these names, and "declared to them their names" (*ibid.*, 31), as also the story of "and when We said to the angels: prostrate before Adam,—and they prostrated, save only Iblîs" (*ibid.*). He did not prostrate before the pure Light of God the Allhighest, "he was of the *jinn*, and revolted from the biddings of his Lord" (Cor. XVIII, 48). Being originally a *jinn*, and proud of his origin, he did not prostrate before "His Light", and was punished for ever.

But that Light exists in the world, by the command of God! Adam committed a sin, but returned to God, saying: "O our Lord, we have wronged ourselves" (Cor. VII, 22), and God accepted his repentance. After Adam's having committed sin came God's instruction, when He gave Adam three sacred formulas (*kalima*) which were written on the arches of the Throne of God: "There is no deity but God, Muḥammad is His Apostle, [15] the Commander of the Faithful, 'Alî, is the Friend of God, and Fâtima is the daughter of the Apostle of God".[1] Then He accepted Adam's repentance.

Thus it appears that these formulas were revealed by God; and the deductions of an individual reason, *qiyâs*, may be seen from the story of Iblîs,—curse be upon him!—who protested, arguing: "Thou hast created me from fire, and him Thou hast created out of clay" (Cor. VII, 11). When God ordered him to prostrate before Adam, he refused, saying that he was of fiery substance, while Adam was of dust, that the substance of fire was higher than that of earth, and the superior should not submit to the inferior. "The first who reasoned (*qâsa*) was Iblîs,—curse be upon him". He said that prostration is due to God only, and this was the cause of his being cursed for ever: "Then go forth therefrom, for, verily, upon thee is My curse unto the day of judgment" (Cor. XXXVIII, 78-9).

Let us now return to the original narrative. Thus I became convinced that in reality I had acquired no knowledge. I felt utterly depressed and full of anxiety, repeating continually to myself the verse of the Coran (XXVII, 63): "Is not He the One who answers the distressed when he calls upon Him?" And then the sun of mercy and help suddenly shone from the sky of the Divine bounty of Our Lord,—prostration and glorification be at his mention!—which lifted into the air of His Love this stray atom of dust

Once I attended an assembly in which the conversation was about the knowledge of God (*ma'rifat*). Every one had something genuine to relate, and every one expressed his opinion

[1] This is an obviously Ithna-'ashari formula, derived from the same Ithna-'ashari sources as the other non-Ismaili details of this story. Cf. also Wensinck, *op. cit.*, pp. 197, 240 sq.

being the things which did not exist? In every class of living creatures some species are higher than others, and in those (highest) species again some particular form is superior to others. For instance, amongst animals—the lion, amongst birds—the falcon, amongst jewels—the ruby; and the case is the same with all other things. Hence, who is at present the noblest man in mankind, and how is it possible to know him? How is it possible to get out of the abyss of ignorance, which is real Hell, to the open space of knowledge, which is eternal Paradise? By whose guidance can one reach Him? Who is the friend from whom one can obtain the information which nobody in the whole world appears to possess?

A thousand friends who are ignorant of God
May be sacrificed for the sake of a stranger who knows Him.

The way to the knowledge of God is not the road which may be trod by the feet of individual reason and comparison (*qiyâs*). Reason only realizes that this way cannot be found merely with the help of reasoning (*qiyâs*), without anybody's instruction (*ta'lîm*). If we suppose that this way can be found with the help of the reasoning of an individual mind, we know that in the questions of intelligence, i.e. in the matters in which one is guided by reasoning, every individual intellect obstinately refuses to follow another, and to submit to it. Every one decides for himself. It is obvious then that the way of attaining knowledge (*ma'rifat*) is different for every individual, and may be opposite to that of others. Therefore, the God to whom every one thus finds his way [14] must be different in every case from the gods of others, and in such a case many gods may appear,—the ugliness of such a situation needs no comment.

Taking all this into consideration, it follows that every individual mind in the question of the knowledge of God should follow the mind which is the most perfect of all intellects, receiving special assistance from God Himself. Without his help no individual intellect can acquire the knowledge (*ma'rifat*) of God. Such an intellect is the Cosmic Formative Intelligence (*'Aqli kull*),—all individual reasons are subject to it. And this is the "Proof" (*ḥujjat*) of God the Allhighest. All creatures are obliged to know it. And it is to be manifest always, because if it were absent for a while, creatures would lose the proof of the existence of God, and would take up their own reasoning and deductions. Then nobody would be able to find the real way to the Allhighest, and would sink into error and impiety.

It is narrated in the story of Adam, Eve, and the cursed Iblîs: "God taught Adam the names of all things, and then presented the things to the angels" (Cor. II, 29), but the angels said: "No knowledge is ours but what Thou Thyself hast

Be it the Torah, the New Testament, Psalms, or the Coran.[1]

I have been thinking for seventy-two years, day and night, only to realize now that I know nothing. I performed four *ḥajj* pilgrimages,—two great *ḥajjs*, and two lesser, of *Bayti ma'mûr*, and *'umra*.[2] During these pilgrimages I distributed all my property to the poor and needy. In all my life I never broke the fast, but fasted continuously. Neither when travelling, nor when resting, did I ever show anger or displeasure to anybody, but was always polite to every one. I never criticized any religion, nor its founder, except for the well-known miscreants (*ahli taḍâdd*) and their false doctrine,—in short, I never spoke badly of any one.

When I reached the age of maturity, my soul was seized with a passion for knowledge of God, and of His worship in accordance with the *ḥadîth*: "Whoever knows himself, he recognizes his Lord", and "every one is born to follow a true religion (*fiṭrat*)".[3] I was so burdened with my thoughts that sometimes, feeling this burden (of thoughts) unbearable, I used to go to the hills and deserts. Sometimes I appealed to the people who in appearance were very different from me, thinking I might find them sympathetic, and asked for their advice. But these people advised me to take up the usual (*ẓâhir*) studies. Anyhow, I did my best in these studies, but my heart was more and more consumed by the fire of disappointment, as I could not find what I was searching for,—my way **[13]** to the One who is to be worshipped. So long as it was possible to endure, I profited by the ordinary (*ẓâhir*) disciplines, but my soul started to groan: "Oh, we are sad". And the heart started to moan: "Oh, we grieve". So I wept over my entirely wasted life, so much that at times it appeared as if my depressed soul was parting from the body, and praying for help; and my bleeding heart caused tears to burst from my eyes in longing for refuge and solitude.

Thus, I was confused in every possible way, thinking about the purpose for which the prophets had come,—of whom they taught, and whose knowledge they preached? What are the seeds of love which are sown in the heart and the soul? Who is the Creator of all creations, and who is the Father who produced life? What is the ultimate purpose of bringing into

[1] This *bayt* is not found in the *Âtash-kada*. Here the similarity between these two versions comes to an end, and in their continuation they become quite different.

[2] This term is applied to the ceremonies of the pilgrimage which is undertaken when the pilgrim already resides for some time in Mecca, and has already performed the ordinary *ḥajj*.

[3] About the *fiṭrat* cf. further, pp. 103, 104, 114 (text). Cf. also A. J. Wensinck, op. cit., pp. 42, 214.

and all verses containing prescriptions or prohibitions, mention of things permissible and things forbidden. I studied the different schools of reading the Coran, in their variations accepted in different cities, which were centres of learning. I found some books by Imam Muḥammad Bâqir,—blessing of God be on him!—the *Kashfi kabîr*,[1] or the "Great Revelation", and the other *Jâmi'i ṣaghîr*,[2] or the "Smaller Collection". Similarly, I found the book *Shâmil*, or "Comprising everything",[3] and a manuscript written by my ancestor, Imam [4] 'Alî ibn Mûsâ Riḍâ, having discovered it amongst the works of Imam Muḥammad b. Ḥasan 'Askarî. I also read other books which were being used by the people at that time. Then [12] I started the study of the four ancient books, i.e. the Torah of Moses, Gospels (*Injîl*) of Jesus, Psalms of David, and the Books (*Ṣuḥuf*) of Abraham,—all being the Word of God, addressed to the people of that time. Then I found and studied the books of Sh-m-r-qîs, of Sîjûrân-s,[5] and of the younger Ptolemy, the Jew.[6] Six more years passed in this. Then afterwards, turning again to the disciplines belonging to Islamic religion, I became very interested in philosophy, logic, laws of religious and physical nature, in the most learned Organon, in medicine, politics, and in magic figures.[7]

> Not a single science was left in the world which I
> had not studied,

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1 Apparently quite fictitious, because it is not known at present.

2 An early work, *al-Jâmi'u's-ṣaghîr*, is ascribed to Ibrâhîm b. Muḥammad b. Sa'îd ath-Thaqafî, who was a contemporary of 'Alî himself. Cf. *Kashfu'l-ḥujub* by Kantûrî (Calcutta, 1330), No. 758. It deals with *fiqh*.

3 Apparently quite fictitious. There are many works called *Shâmil*, but none of them is ascribed to Imam Muḥammad Bâqir.

4 The title of "Imam", prefixed to the names of these Ithna-'ashari saints, shows that the compiler slavishly copied the passage from a non-Ismaili work. No Ismaili of any sub-sect regards either 'Alî Riḍâ or Ḥasan 'Askarî as Imams.

5 These names are either quite fictitious, or are mutilated in the course of transcription to such an extent as to become quite unrecognizable.

6 Ptolemy, the astronomer of the third c., was a Greek, as is well known. Who is this "younger" Ptolemy, is difficult to find. It is strange that he is called Yahûdânî, not simply Yahûdî. *Yahûdâna* is called a strip of yellow cloth which the Jews had to wear as a distinctive sign of their community. Ibn al-Qifṭî, in his *Ta'rîkhu'l-ḥukamâ'*, mentions five different Batlimiyûses, but none of these is a Jew.

7 This mysterious expression "*ashkâli mi'a*" appears in a more detailed form in the *Âtash-kada* (p. 187, line 11): *shakli ṣad dar ṣad ki jaddi buzurgwâr-am Amîru'l-mu'minîn 'Alî dar rûzi qal'i dari Khaybar Ḥaqq subḥâna-hu ta'âlâ û-râ ḥâṣil namûda*, i.e. "the magical figure, containing one hundred by one hundred (of mystical figures?) which God the Allhighest taught my ancestor, the Commander of the Faithful 'Alî, on the day of pulling off the door of Khaybar"—(this refers to the well-known legend about 'Alî's forcing the gate of the fort of Khaybar).

CHAPTER I

On the biography of the author, the humblest slave of the only leading and rightly guided religion of the Ismailis.

"When God wishes something to be, He brings into existence the causes which produce it." The story of this humble slave is this: when I began to distinguish my right hand from the left, my heart became preoccupied with studying different sciences,[1] and practising different virtues, until I was able to understand the letters of the Book of God,[2] and the celestial mystery which was conveyed to us by our Prophet,—blessing of God be upon him!—i.e. the Coran, which I knew before my tenth year of age. After this I occupied myself with literature and grammar, studying the largest dictionaries, grammar, and etymology, in the epistolary and in the legal language:—this took five more years. Then I took up astronomy, geomancy (*raml*), geometry (*'ilmi Iqlîd*), Almagest (*'ilmi Majisṭî*), measurements, and details connected with these (?).

When I turned to the study of religious disciplines, I looked through 900 commentaries (*tafsîr*) on the Coran, I studied the art of reciting the Coran, and I busied myself with studying different other sciences, and attaining perfection. I left the country of Daylam, and the district of Ḥaydarâbâd,[3] in order to see the world, and to acquire knowledge of secret (*bâṭin*) sciences. I visited Egypt, Byzantium, Greece, and Babylon[4] in the space of thirty years. Then[5] I took up the study of law and the traditions of the Prophet,—blessing of God be upon him!—commentaries on the contradictory verses in the Coran,

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[1] Here begins the portion derived from the pseudo-autobiography, as it is quoted in the *Âtash-kada'i Âdhar*, by Luṭf-'Alî Beg (Bombay, 1277, p. 187, line 4).

[2] The *Âtash-kada* gives apparently a better reading,—*ba ḥifẓ* instead of *ba khaṭṭ*, i.e. "I was lucky to learn the Coran by heart".

[3] In the geographical works of that period: Yâqût's Dictionary, the *Nuzhatu'l-qulûb* of Qazwînî, etc., there is no mention of such a district. Obviously, the name is quite fictitious. In his genuine works, as is well-known, Nâṣiri Khusraw himself says that his birthplace was Qubâdiyân, a town on the Oxus river, a dependency of Balkh. *Âtash-kada* makes his birthplace Iṣfahân.

[4] Babylon, or Bâbul, was at the time of Nâṣiri Khusraw in ruins already for a thousand years, but its fame as the city of magicians persisted even much later. This is why the author makes Nâṣir to travel there.

[5] Most probably these repeated "*ba'd az în*" do not really imply the sequence in time, as otherwise the programme of Nâṣir's studies would be quite extraordinary.

May our Lord help all His slaves to comply with the commands of the true religion, may He turn away their hearts [11] from what is bad and improper, and make them enlightened, seeing and hearing by the light of the knowledge of the cosmic Conscious Formative Principle (*'Aqli kull*). Verily, He is the best of all helpers and assistants!

teaching of the prophets and preachers, but who in reality are content, like beasts, with straw and leaves of trees. They fall, therefore, from the human state to that of speechless animals, as is said in the Coran (XXV, 46): "They are only like the beasts,—nay, they err more from the way".—So he (the author), after offering thanks, praises, and glorification to God, [10] explains here—in an unskilled way—all that he has learnt about the ways of the righteous men (*muḥiqqân*) of his day. Let this book be a help to the community of the faithful, to the beginners, and the newly initiated (*mustajîbân*), in their progress! May they mention this humble slave in their prayers of thanks to God, praying for mercy and help to the Lord of the World and of Time, the Creator of mankind and demons,—may His power be exalted and His authority be extolled! Verily, He is the most reliable of the helpers and assistants,—we rely on Our Lord only!

This treatise is composed of seven chapters:—

I. On the biography of the author, and the circumstances under which he joined the true religion of the Ismailis.

II. Demonstration of the futility of the doctrine of the seventy-two (erring) sects.

III. Proving that in the world no sect, except this one, attains salvation, and that this one only is true.

IV. On the meaning of Prophethood, the office of the *Waṣî* of the Prophet, on revelation of the Coran and its allegorical interpretation,—I will explain this with the help of God.

V. On the meaning of Imamat; the periods of time during which the Imam remains hidden or manifest; and on the meaning of the Great Resurrection.

VI. On the spiritual and the physical world, on the beginning of things, and their ultimate goal, and on the degrees of spiritual progress, from the newly initiated believer, to the Imam.

VII. On the allegorical interpretation of some prescriptions of the religion; of some verses of the Coran; on various instructive matters; also on the reasons for this book being divided into seven chapters; and on some parallels between the phenomena in the Universe and in human nature.

All which is true and correct, is what Our Lord,—be exalted His greatness, and be extolled His mention!—has put into the mouth of this humble slave. And all that,—God forbid!—is incorrect, depends on ill luck and temptations, which befell the author. "What befalls thee of good is from God, and what befalls thee of evil is from thyself" (Cor. IV, 81).

whence comes the mystery of Prophethood (*nubuwwat*), has never been interrupted. As the Prophet (blessing be upon him!) said: "To Him returns the commandment and every manifestation (*kashf*), as otherwise . . ."[1] **[9]**[2] One accepts Imamat by its obvious signs (*nahj*) and the preaching (*riwâyat*) of the *ḥujjats* of the time; and the mystery of Imamat becomes manifest as a blessing, just as the clouds of God's generosity which He sends, and just as saintliness (*'iffat*) of His messengers and their (sincere) followers. By the mercy of God, in accordance with what is said (Cor. VI, 3): "God knows your secret conduct and your plain, and He knows what ye earn",—every one of the faithful, following the principle (Cor. II, 286): "It (the soul) shall have what it has earned, and it shall owe what has been earned from it".—will become the slave of what is true (*mustaḥaqq*). God, make us to know what Thou likest and what pleasest Thou!

Incomparable glory belongs to the Proof (*ḥujjat*) of the Allhighest, i.e. Muḥammad the Mustafâ (God bless him and his descendants, and accept them!), who is the greatest and the best of all prophets. Riding his horse of persuasion on the course of preaching, he has given the people fear and hope in order to bring them out of the darkness of ignorance and error, and make them come to God with the help of the light of Divine knowledge (*ma'rifat*), to walk along the highway to Paradise (*ṣirâṭu'l-mustaqîm*), purifying them thoroughly (Cor. XXXIII, 33). Said God (Cor. III, 30): "Verily, God has chosen Adam, and Noah, and Abraham's people, and 'Imrân's people above the world,—line of descendants in which one succeeds the other,—and God hears and knows". God called the people on the earth to embrace His religion through the medium (*ḥijâb*)[3] of his Prophet. The ways of God are the best!

On many occasions brothers and friends, the followers of the right guiding religion (*da'wati hâdiya*) asked this humble slave of the Pure Imams (i.e. the compiler of this treatise) to write a book on religion, referring to the verse of the Coran (XIII, 8): "Verily, thou art a warner, guiding all the people". And this humblest slave of the truly leading and rightly guided religion of Ismailism (*da'wati hâdiya'i mahdiya'i Ismâ'îliyya*),—may God establish it firmly in the Eastern parts of the world and in the Western!—(prayed) God to help him with His eternal assistance and constant guidance, to keep him away from those who err and commit mistakes, from the devils of the time, and the Antichrists of the day,—those who in appearance accept the

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1 The *ḥadîth* is left unfinished, probably being regarded as well-known.
2 Figures in heavy type refer to pages of the original text.
3 About this term see the Introduction, II.

KALÂMI PÎR

TRANSLATION

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate !

Praise be to God, the Lord of the worlds, the goal of the pious; and benediction and blessing be upon His Apostle, Muḥammad, with all his successors, the Good and the Pure; and upon his *Waṣî*, and his " progeny " (*dhurriyyat*), for all time, eternally !

In the name of the present Lord of the World and the Interpreter of the Divine Will,—may God uphold his word, and help (us) to be obedient to him !

Thanks and praises to the Creator whose light of Divine help (*ta'yîd*), in a spark of enlightenment made the Primal Formative Conscious Cosmic Principle (*'Aqli kull*) seeing, speaking, and hearing by the light of His recognition (*ma'rifat*). Through these the *'Aqli kull* could see and understand the mysteries of the Universe and the realities (*ḥaqâ'iq*) of this illusory world, conveying this knowledge to the trusted angels and the preachers (*dâ'î*) of the path of faith. He made it the Proof of His Divinity for this world, and its inhabitants; by His overpowering might and irresistible command He lifted into the air, on the end of the spear of His omnipotence, the rebels and miscreants of mankind, and threw them at the feet of the weakest of His obedient worshippers. It is stated in the Coran and in the *ḥadîths* of the Prophet: (one must believe) (Cor. IV, 135) " in God, His angels, His revealed books, His Apostles, and the Last Day ".[1] And the expression " the Last Day " refers to 'Alî and his successors.[2] And God is the Lord, the One deserving (praise), the Living, the Eternal. On Him depends the manifestation (*ẓuhûr*) and revelation (*iẓhâr*) of the mystery of the infinite embryo of the world of spirits and of continuous creation. And the foundation, or the principle,[3] and origin of Imamat,

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[1] This quotation appears very frequently in this book, as will be seen, but it is always difficult to decide whether the author quotes the verse IV, 135, or its parallel in II, 285. Cf. A. J. Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed* (Cambridge, 1932), p. 8. Usually the expression " Last Day " is supposed to refer to the Day of Judgment.

[2] The expression *khwâst* in this sense appears very frequently in this work, as in the *Wajhi dîn*, in which it is very common.

[3] The expression *nuqta'i nutfa'i Imâmat* seems rather strained. Most probably this is an error of the copyist, who first wrote by mistake *nuqta*, and then corrected himself, leaving the wrong word to remain.

Further interpolations: p. 111, lines 10–15 (*ad-dunyâ . . . mathal*), and lines 15–17 (*chunânchi . . . shâbb*). The beginning of line 18 should be read: *wa sarâb nîstî-yi ḥaqîqî ast, ammâ dar wahmi mardum ast . . .* In addition to verbal variants and small insertions on p. 112 there are an Arabic quotation on line 10, and a *bayt* on line 17. The *bayt* on p. 113, line 4 is also not original. On p. 114, line 4 the sentence *chunanchi . . . az man* is added. The work ends with the third line on p. 115. There is added in the original half a page of the usual concluding prayers, etc.

The student who will mark out all these interpolations in his copy will have an almost complete text of the original version of the real *Haft-bâbi Abû Isḥâq*, except for two comparatively short passages, one dealing with controversy, and presenting absolutely nothing essential to the doctrine, and the other containing nothing but fantastic speculations about the symbolism of numbers. The minor variants are numerous, but they do not substantially alter the sense and the spirit of the original theories.

lines 12–15 (*yâftand . . . gashtand*). On p. 65 important alterations are introduced by the editor in lines 5–8. In this passage (which is also given in a slightly different form in the pseudo-HBAI), on lines 7 sq., the references are not to Mawlâ-nâ 'Alî, but to Sayyid-nâ; the text is differently worded. Lines 9 and 10 are an interpolation. On p. 66, lines 3 to 14 are much altered. The original text is given in the Appendix, on p. 115. There are minor insertions in the last three lines of the page.

On p. 67, lines 2 to 7 are omitted. It is very strange that the quatrain (lines 6–7), containing the most important reference to the Imams Mustanṣir and Salâmu'l-lâh (cf. above, p. xxiii) is omitted. As it appears in its proper place in the (pseudo-) HBAI it is possible to suspect that it is wrongly omitted in the Hunza copy of the Orig. HBAI, but in reality should be there.

Further on, on the same page, the quotation on l. 10 is omitted, as also on line 13. The end of the last line should be read: . . . *ḥujjat wa dâ'iyân and.*

On p. 68 the first two lines are omitted; also lines 4–5 (*nûri . . . asrâr bûd*). In the original version the fifth *bâb* ends here. On line 12, after the word *bâshad*, follows: *chunânchi dar zamâni Khudâwand 'alâ dhikri-hi's-salâm bûd.* After it there is a short concluding invocation. The twenty-one pages which are added here are entirely an interpolation by the editor of the KP, or his predecessor, because the (pseudo-) HBAI also contains the same matters to a considerable extent (cf. p. lv).

The *Sixth bâb* is again almost entirely free from interpolations, except for p. 91, lines 7–15 (*ba-ḥukmi . . . aṣlan*). Here the editor of the KP in many places abbreviates the original text, omitting some words and short sentences.

The *Seventh bâb* is again to a very great extent an interpolation. Up to p. 99 there are only verbal variants, but from there are found longer insertions: lines 10–19 (*qawlu-hu . . . . .* end of the last line). On p. 100, line 7 (*mu'allimân . . . na-gardânand*); lines 15–17 (*wa in . . . 'alîm*). On p. 102 the text of the passage (after the 17th line) which is omitted in the present edition, is the same as in the original (pp. 111–115 of the MS). On p. 103, line 4 the name of Mustanṣir bi'l-lâh is not mentioned in the original version, but the text generally agrees literally, and it is possible that the quatrain was purposely omitted for some reason. The passage beginning on line 5 (*chunânchi . . .*) and ending on p. 104, line 18 (. . . *khûd*) is interpolated. The last line on p. 104 and lines 1–9 (to . . . *ṭayyiba*) belong to the original text, but after this a long passage again is inserted up to p. 111, line 4 (. . . *hâwiya*). As has already been mentioned in footnote 1 on p. 107 of the Translation, the change is abrupt; now it is clear that this is due to the negligent handling of the text on the part of the interpolator.

ba rûzi âkhir) ; p. 24, l. 16 to p. 25, l. 13 (*wa ḥaḍrati ..... rastagâr*) ; lines 15–17 (*Imâm hamîsha ... mubîn*) ; p. 26, line 4 to l. 9 (*rûzî ... nîst*) ; p. 26, l. 10 to p. 27, l. 8 (*ḥaqq-râ ba Muḥiqq ... as-salâm*) ; p. 27, l. 11 to p. 45, l. 2 (*wa margi kasî ... shinâsand*). This long passage is mostly compiled from Ithna-'ashari sources ; it is also absent in the newer version of the HBAI, as is shown above (p. liii). On p. 45 the Arabic sentence on lines 17–19 is omitted, as also lines 3–5 on p. 46 (*wa Khudâyi ... qawlu-hu ta'âlâ*). Only a few sentences, which follow the end of line 13, are much amplified in the KP (not in the printed text). From p. 47, line 19 to p. 48, l. 9 (*ba-ḥukmi ... îshân*) omitted in the original. The end of the third *bâb* is badly perverted. On p. 49, lines 6-7, the story is about Ismâ'îl son of Abraham, not Ismâ'îl b. Ja'far, and instead of the name of Mûsâ Kâẓim there appears Isḥâq (Isaac). From line 8 to 13 (*ya'nî .. . wa paydâ*) the text is an interpolation, as also lines 15–16 (*naql ... namûdand*). On p. 50, lines 17–19 (*wa man ... rasîd*) are inserted instead of the original passage, given in the footnote 8 on p. 43 of the translation. Though the new HBAI stops here, the original version adds the most important passage (cf. note 1 on p. 44 of the Translation) which runs as follows : *wa Sayyid-nâ nîz badân ḥaḍrat rasîd wa 'inâyati tamâm dar kâri û raft, wa farzandi û Mawlâ-nâ Nizâr ki naṣṣi Imamat bar û bûd ba Sayyid-nâ supurd, wa û-râ ḥujjati Daylamân wa Târim wa ân ḥawâlî kard.* Thus we can see that according to the ideas of Bû Isḥâq, it was Imam Nizâr himself whom Imam Mustansir entrusted to Sayyid-nâ. Though this passage is far clearer than that in the KP and (pseudo-) HBAI, yet it is not quite satisfactory from the stylistical point of view, and most probably is corrupted by scribes.

Further on, on l. 2 there is, of course, no reference to "*Âl wa Ḥaydarâbâd*", both fictitious places. There are many small variants in the subsequent lines. The list of the Imams ends with Mustanṣir (III), and the concluding invocations are slightly different in their wording.

The *Fourth bâb* is copied quite faithfully, and though there are many small variants, some of which are important yet it seems to be quite free from interpolations, or substantial omissions.

The *Fifth bâb* begins quite all right, again with verbal variants, but from p. 60 interpolations appear again. Thus p. 60, l. 6 to l. 9 (*chunân-ki ... bi-kash*) ; lines 17–18 (*Khudây-râ ... ḥâl*) ; p. 61, lines 5–8 (*sharîf nîz ... ta'âlâ*) ; lines 10–11 (*û mubîn ... badîn*) ; lines 12–13 (*ya'nî ... dawri û*) ; line 16 (*ḥadîth ... as-salâm*), and the last line. On p. 62 the first line ; lines 4–6 (*Khudây-râ ... guftand*) ; lines 7–8 (*ma'rifat ... ta'âlâ*) ; line 9 (*har chi ... û'st*) ; p. 62, line 11 to p. 63, l. 3 (*mabda'î ..... paydâ shawad*) ; in addition to several verbal insertions, the *bayt* on line 12 is also an interpolation on p. 63. On p. 64,

author! The end of the *muqaddima* is the same, except for some unimportant variants in wording.

In the *First bâb*, after the heading, only the first sentence belongs to the original, up to *aḥwâli în banda ân bûd ki*, which is here repeated on p. 12, line 14, and from here to the end the texts agree, except in occasional short interpolations. Thus the experience of a young Persian Ismaili, seeking after knowledge, was planted by the editor upon the 77 years old sage, Nâsiri Khusraw. The interpolations are: on p. 12, line 15 (*man 'arafa . . .*). On p. 14, l. 6—*wâjib ast ki û-râ bi-dânad*; lines 12 to 18 (*wa qiṣṣa'i*. to . . . *padhiruft*), and line 19 (*dar tâqi . . .*) to p. 15, line 1 (. . . *Allâh*); on p. 15, line 16 to l. 17 (*ba-ḥukmi . . . . mubîn*), in addition to a few minor variants. It appears that the end of line 17 is a *miṣrâ'*, and should be read: *'aql sargardân-u man ḥayrân-u ṣabr-am munhazim*. On p. 16 there are again many minor variants. On line 13 the words *nâmi man Bâbâ Sayyid-nâ'st* are omitted, and the name of the Ismaili missionary is not mentioned at all. On lines 18–19 omitted from *awwal* . . . to . . . *khabar dâda ki*.

On p. 17, line 3, instead of the name of Mustanṣir bi'l-lâh, Khwâja Qâsim *riḍwânu'l-lâhi 'alay-him ajma'în* is given (not clear, why the Plural is used). On line 4, after the word *bi-rasîdam*, is added *wa ma'dhûn shudam*. After this all is omitted to line 15 (. . . *chi maḥâl*).

It is thus clear that the author was a modest *ma'dhûn*, who was promoted by the Mediæval *ḥujjat* Khwâja Qâsim, somewhere in Persia.

The beginning of the *Second Chapter* suffered very little, and only minor variants occur. It must be noted that as a rule the original author, Bû Isḥâq, prefers to quote different *ḥadîths* and even verses of the Coran in Persian translation, but the editor of the KP invariably restores their Arabic text, and adds a few more Arabic passages on his own account.

The portion which is omitted in the passage which is not printed in the text of the KP (p. 20) occupies just over 11 small pages (end 18 to beg. 30 of the Hunza copy), as mentioned above.

On p. 21 (line 5) Imam Zayd is called the son of Imam Zaynu'l-'âbidîn. Passages which are omitted in the original are: lines 8–11 (*chunânchi . . . bâshad*); 12 (*wa ra'y . . . khilâfat-râ*). On lines 13–14 the text is bad in the KP: for *dar 'aṣrî*, etc., it is necessary to read *dar har 'aṣrî*, which makes a great difference. On p. 22 are interpolated: lines 2–4 (*nîz . . . dawri û*), lines 5–7 (*ya'nî . . . shawand*). On p. 23 the fantastic story about the dispute of the sons of Imam Ja'far Ṣâdiq is entirely omitted. Instead of it there is only a short sentence, stating that after Imam Ja'far the Imam was Ismâ'îl, not Mûsâ Kâẓim.

The *Third bâb* is altered very considerably, and long passages are interpolated: p. 23, l. 7 to p. 24, l. 12 (*wa ân dîn . . .*

original version.[1] The time has not arrived yet to give a complete list of all the minor and less important variants, because the text of the KP, as given in this volume, is based only on two very imperfect copies, and cannot be regarded as absolutely reliable. On the other hand, the copy of the original HBAI, which was received from Hunza, is also extremely imperfect, containing many obvious mistakes and omissions of words and sentences, in addition to terrible orthography and almost hopeless perversions of Arabic quotations. It appears, however, that such variants almost never interfere with the contents of the books, and are rather immaterial from this point of view.

It may be added that, as a rule, the present copy of the original HBAI shows great passion for brevity, omitting the usual blessings accompanying the names of the Prophet or the Imams, or introductory Arabic formulas with the quotations from the Coran (such as *qâla'l-lâh ta'âlâ*, or *qâla Rasûlu'l-lâh*, etc.). It clearly avoids poetical quotations which are so numerous in the KP. Often when one is given it is written in such a way that it is not easy at first sight to see that it is poetry.

Here is a complete analysis of the alterations which the editor of the *Kalâmi Pîr* has introduced into the text of the original version of the *Haft-bâbi Abû Isḥâq*.

The initial Arabic passage on p. 8 is an interpolation, and the text begins with *Shukr wa sipâs* . . . to line 11, ending with . . . *khûd andâkht*. On p. 9 the text is continued on lines 5 to 8 (. . . *rasânad*), and then is continued again on line 13. It is interesting that the editor of the KP manipulated the text in such a way as to make the verse of the Coran XIII, 8 to refer to himself, while in the original HBAI it refers to God. The name of the author, Bû Isḥâq is found in the passage corresponding with line 14; it is also interesting to note that in the Arabic invocation, "may God establish it (the *da'wat*)", etc., the text gives *thabbata-humâ*, i.e. both, the *da'wat* and the

[1] As can be seen from the details further on, the KP contains much additional matters chiefly in the second, third, fifth, and seventh *bâbs*. Those passages which are contributed by the editor of the KP are mostly derived from Ithna-'ashari sources. The numerous short interpolations, which are the chief cause of the KP appearing so chaotic, unsystematic, and full of repetitions, almost invariably belong to one and the same type . it would seem as if the author had "ready made" sets of quotations from the Coran and *ḥadîths*, on various favourite topics, and whenever such a topic is referred to in the original text, he automatically drags in one of these stereotyped sets of quotations, regardless of whether it is really needed or not, or whether he is giving it for the first time, or is merely repeating himself. To this type of insertions belong the numerous repetitions of some verses of the Coran, pieces of poetry, etc. Not rarely, as the reader may see, his interpretations of the Coran are very strained, and sometimes the verses are quoted or translated incorrectly. Sometimes *ḥadîths* are systematically treated as verses of the Coran (cf. Index VI).

The only author, so far known, who gives the date of his death is the Indian Nizari, Nar-Muḥammad, who in his work, *Satvênî*,[1] attributes to him a short reign of three or four years only, 899/1494 to 902 (or 903)/1497. Although the dates given in the *Satvênî* do not generally stand criticism, nevertheless, as there were nine generations of the Imams after 650/1252, we can assume that Gharîb Shâh, or Mustanṣir III, flourished not later than the end of the IX/XVth c., and thus the original version of the *Haft-bâb* of Abû Isḥâq was written about that time.

This original HBAI is divided into seven chapters, with the same headings as those in the KP. The story of his own conversion which Abû Isḥâq narrates in the first *bâb*, surely is of very limited interest to anybody except to himself, or people connected with him. For the religiously inclined reader who looks only for instruction, and not for lyrics, it is perfectly useless. Most probably both the compiler of the (pseudo-) HBAI, and the author of the KP held an opinion like this. The former simply omitted it, replacing it with the most important second *bâb* of the HBBS. The author of the KP appears to be a more ambitious man, who probably had a very high opinion of his own scholarly attainments. Instead of rejecting this uninteresting first chapter, he conceived quite an extraordinary idea to turn this story of an obscure rustic Ismaili from Eastern Persia into an autobiographic account of the experiences of the great poet, traveller, philosopher, and missionary of Ismailism, Nâṣiri Khusraw himself.

It would probably be wrong to attribute to the editor any unfair motives. Surely, if his motives were not really pious, he could easily have attributed the work to himself. And yet he had not even done anything to preserve the memory of his own name, which seems to be completely forgotten. Most probably, being rather uncritical and too enthusiastic, he was himself misled by the spurious autobiography of Nâṣir, and the apocryphal works of which there was probably never any scarcity. Anyhow, his success was really brilliant: the work of an obscure author, which probably would have been forgotten very soon, has become through his ruse one of the most sacred books of the Ismailis of the Upper Oxus districts, and has been carefully preserved, in many copies.

An analysis of the text of the KP, and its comparison with the text of the (pseudo-) HBAI are already given above, on pp. lii–lvi. Here it is sufficient to add a review of the most important discrepancies between the text of the KP and the

[1] *Satvênî-jî Vêl*, a versified treatise in Sindhi, composed towards the end of the XVIth c. by Nar-Muḥammad Shâh, son of Imâm-Shâh. His dates are given in the Samwat era.

being presented to the person whom he calls Badî'u'd-dîn Khwâja Qâsim, he was made a *ma'dhûn*. The blessings accompanying the name of this Khwâja Qâsim imply that the latter was already dead at the time when the book was composed. It is clear from the way in which reference is made to him that he was not an Imam. In any case, however, he appears to have occupied a very high position in the Ismaili world. Looking at the list of the *ḥujjats*. we find the name Qâsim Shâh who lived about that time.[1] The coincidence is significant, and it is quite possible that Khwâja Qâsim mentioned in the book really was the *ḥujjat* who is referred to in the list under the name of Qâsim Shâh.

The work itself gives no direct indications as to its date. The latest persons or events that are referred to in it are: Nasîru'd-dîn Ṭûsî (who died in 672/1273) (cf. p. 50 in the text of the KP), and the fact that from the disappearance of the last Imam of the Ithna-'asharis, Mahdî, more than 500 years have already passed (cf. p. 22 in the KP). This gives the date as the beginning of the IX/XVth c.

In the end of the third *bâb* (in the place corresponding with pp. 49 51 in the KP) the genealogy of the Nizari Imams is given, which ends with Mustansir bi'l-lâh (III) as the Imam of the time.[2] This genealogy differs from the present official version, and it is obvious that this Mustansir III is the same person as Imam Gharîb Shâh of the official version. The Imams, as is well-known, in addition to their personal names, had many surnames, honorary titles, and probably special names under which they were known amongst their followers only. Thus it is almost hopeless to be certain as to who is who in case the names do not coincide. In any case it is quite obvious that Gharîb-Mîrzâ cannot be a personal name or title, and can obviously be only a surname. Some authors[3] give his name as 'Abbâs, and it is quite possible, and even probable, that he might have had the official honorary title Mustanṣir bi'l-lâh, like his grandfather.

[1] Cf. W. Ivanow, "Ismailitica", *Memoirs of the As. Soc. of Bengal*, vol. VIII, 1922, p. 69. The author of the KP made him Imam Mustansir bi'l-lâh, the Fatimid caliph of Egypt.

[2] After the last *khudâwand* of Alamut, Ruknu'd-dîn Khûrshâh, the author gives (p. 50 of the copy): Shamsu'd-dîn Muhammad; 'Alâ'u'd-dîn Mu'min Shâh; 'Alâ'u'd-dîn Qâsim Shâh I; 'Alâ'ud-dîn Qâsim Shâh II ibn Qâsim Shâh; 'Imâdu'd-dîn Salâm (or Islâm) Shâh I; 'Imâdu'd-dîn Salâm (or Islâm) Shâh II ibn Salâm Shâh; Jalâlu'd-dîn Mustanṣir bi'l-lâh II; 'Imâdu'd-dîn Salâm (or Islâm, or 'Abdu's-Salâm) Shâh III (the last two are omitted in the KP); and, ultimately, the Imam of the time Mustanṣir bi'l-lâh III.

[3] This is Muḥammad Taqî Maḥallâtî, the author of the *Âthâri Muḥammadî*, composed in 1310/1893. He is generally quite unreliable, except in matters connected with the story of Imam Ḥasan-'Alî Shâh.

be even rustic or boorish in expression, but entirely free from chaotic repetitions, anachronisms, and inconsistencies which are so numerous in the KP. It is plain, restrained in argument and especially in controversial matters,[1] and creates a far better impression than its later amplified versions. The name of the author is found in its proper place, unfortunately simply in the form Bû Isḥâq, without any surnames, or the name of his father. Sectarian tradition apparently preserved no information about him, and almost nothing can be gathered concerning him from his book except for the fact that he was most probably a native of the district of Mu'minâbâd, in Quhistân, in Eastern Persia.[2] There are some certain peculiarities in his language which support this.[3] In his first *bâb*, dealing with the story of his conversion, he mentions that he met an Ismaili missionary (whose name is not given),[4] and that ultimately,

[1] The work contains no abuse of the enemies of 'Ali, and even is markedly cautious in expressing various dogmatic issues in conflict with Sunnite ideas. There is every reason, therefore, to think that it was composed while the government was still Sunnite, i.e. before the advent of the Safawids, who permitted, and even encouraged the abuse of the adversaries of the Imams and of Shi'ism.

[2] Mu'minâbâd is an arid district in Eastern Persia, occupying the South-Eastern part of the valley of Birjand. It begins just a few miles East from the town of Birjand, and stretches some distance South of Sarbîsha. Some Ismaili villages are still found there; most probably they were much more numerous in the XVth c. There are also many Ismaili hamlets scattered in the adjacent districts, West and North from Mu'minâbâd, as far as Qâ'in, and even further. The reason why it is possible to think that the author belongs to this district is his reference to it on pp. 78-79 of the original text (omitted in the KP). The Hunza scribe, being unfamiliar with Persia, apparently misunderstood the name of the place, and made it meaningless "*dar Mu'min bâd Quhistân*", obviously omitting an *alif*. In this passage (as may be seen from the Appendix), the author says that on the day of the celebration of the *Qiyâmat* in Alamut Mawlâ-nâ had given orders that it should be celebrated "in Mu'minâbâd of Quhistân and everywhere". The reason that this rather remote locality was singled for special reference clearly indicates that the author was particularly interested in it, most probably being a native or a resident of it.

[3] The most prominent feature of the Manuscript is the indiscriminate use of the pronoun *û* instead of *ân*, and occasionally *hamû* for *hamân*. The language being otherwise quite correct Persian, it is possible to regard this as a trace of the Southern Khorasani pronunciation of *ân* as *û*, which is still common. In addition to this the author is very fond of the expression *paydâ shudan*, *paydâ kardan*, etc., which is more in common use in Khorasan than in any other Persian province (in Indian and Badakhshani Persian it is never used in its original sense). Yet another Khorasanism is the frequent use of *chû* for *chi*.

[4] This missionary is converted into Bâbâ Sayyid-nâ by the author of the KP. It may be noted that the author of the original version never uses the expression *Bâbâ* Sayyid-nâ, but calls him simply Sayyid-nâ, quite in accordance with Persian usage, as preserved in the old histories, such as *Jahân-gushâ*, *Jâmi'u't-tawârîkh*, *Guzîda*, etc. This additional title *Bâbâ* most probably is, as suggested above, p. xvi, note 1, of Central Asian origin.

particular versions, which thus are peculiar to different villages, or groups of villages.

It will be possible to see from the detailed comparison of both texts, given further on, that the KP contains the whole of the text of the original version of Abû Isḥâq, with the omission of only one important passage,[1] and with occasional verbal variants. Thus the student can easily form his own opinion about it by perusing the present edition.[2] The additions contain as much material as the original work itself. These new additions most probably were chiefly inserted by the compiler of the intermediate version, the rest being contributed by the author of the KP, and is mostly taken from Ithna-'ashari sources.

The new find by no means undermines the importance of the KP as a document for the study of Ismailism in Persia. On the contrary, it makes it still more valuable. The date of compilation of the KP still cannot be precisely determined. But a comparison of both versions permits us to some extent to penetrate the almost absolute darkness which up to date conceals from us the different stages in the evolution of Mediæval Ismailism. Even the heterogeneous element which is so strong in the KP, in the form of the Ithna-'ashari and other influences, has its value for a detailed study of the history of the Ismaili movement.

The original *Haft-bâb* of Abû Isḥâq is a book of 125 small pages.[3] It is very simple and unpretentious in its style, may

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[1] This is the passage describing the ceremony of the inauguration of the *Great Qiyâmat* at Alamut by Imam Hasan *'alâ dhikri-hi's-salâm*. It is partly preserved in the (pseudo-) HBAI, from which it is translated in the footnote on pp. 60-61 of the Translation. The full original text of it is given further on, on p. 115, together with an English version of the portion that is omitted.

[2] Of all passages that are omitted in the present edition of the KP only two are also found in the original. The first (see p. 14 of the Translation) in the original is much shorter than in the KP, occupying only 11 small pages (18 30 of the Hunza copy). It deals with the controversy with Sunnism, giving absolutely nothing new or interesting. The second passage (see p. 98 of the Translation) is less than four pages (111-115 in the Hunza copy), and deals with some abstruse speculations about symbolism of numbers. It is interesting to note that *all* other passages that are omitted in the present edition of the KP belong to the compiler of that version, and are not found in the original.

[3] The Hunza copy is over a hundred years old, and is written on thickish hand-made paper, the "Khoqandî" variety, obviously of Central Asian origin, of greyish colour, 20 by 12.5 cm., 13 lines to a page, 6.5 to 7 cm. long. The handwriting seems to be the same all through the copy, but differs slightly from page to page. This may be explained by the fact that probably its original owner copied it leisurely, with long intervals between different pages. His handwriting is quite unskilled, as of a man who rarely takes a pen into his hand, and his orthography is deplorable, while Arabic quotations are mostly perverted beyond recognition. Two, or just over two pages normally are contained in one page of this lithographed text.

ADDENDA

THE ORIGINAL VERSION OF THE *Kalâmi Pîr* FOUND.

On the 30th of October, 1934, I received from an Ismailî friend of mine, Qudratu'l-lâh Beg, of Hunza, near Gilgit, a Persian MS containing yet another version of the *Haft bâb* of Abû Isḥâq, this time,—at last,—genuine and original. An examination of this work, and a collation of its text with both the *Kalâmi Pîr*, and the version which heretofore was referred to here under the title of the HBAI, proved beyond doubt that the latter two works are merely amplified versions of this earlier treatise.

Thus, quite unexpectedly, the mystery of the origin of the *Kalâmi Pîr* has been solved.

Most unfortunately, at the time when the Manuscript reached me, the text of the KP, its translation, and the introduction were for the most part printed, except for a few pages only. Though this new find obviates much of what is said in the introduction, and necessitates quite a new set of notes and comments on the text and the translation, it is too late now to change everything, and all that is possible is to append this short note in order to bring the new find to the notice of students There is some consolation in the fact that the book came just in time to avoid the necessity of publishing this note separately, in some periodical, where it would not be so easily accessible to those who may take an interest in the important work of the *Kalâmi Pîr*.

It is interesting to find that almost all the deductions and inferences concerning the nature of the original version, which were summed up in the introduction, have turned out to be correct. But there can be no doubt that although our text is based on this original version, nevertheless, as both the KP and the (pseudo-) HBAI have much material in common which is not to be found in the original HBAI, it must be assumed that both works are based on some intermediate version which has not yet been traced.

Although one cannot be certain, it would appear as if each of these different versions was in some way connected with a particular locality. The *Kalâmi Pîr*, as edited in the present volume, appears to be typical of Shughnan and the adjacent districts. The (pseudo-) HBAI seems to be in use in the districts which are nearer to Badakhshan proper, while the original version is found now in Hunza, in the Eastern side of the highlands inhabited by the Ismailis. Most probably the well-known conservatism of the sectarians makes them stick to their

Persian which is taught in schools, and occasionally still used in poems in India.

The translation offered here tries to give a clear idea of the contents of the original, by following it as closely and literally as possible. When translating a work like this into a modern and Western language, one often finds great difficulty in rendering many terms and ideas by their ordinary equivalents. The text itself is very faulty, and very often it is not clear whether its continuity is not interrupted. Thus the student should treat both this edition of the text and its translation, as merely tentative. Only when a good early copy of the original version is found will it be possible to correct the text, and prepare a final version of the translation.

p. 105 (line 10)—p. 106 (line 15). From the 35th *Ṣaḥîfa* (the order of separate sentences slightly altered).
p. 106 (line 16)—p. 107 (line 5). From the 33rd *Ṣaḥîfa*. After this the quotation is not literal.
p. 108, lines 4–7. From the same 33rd *Ṣaḥîfa*.
p. 108 (line 13)—p. 110 (line 4 ?). From the 34th *Ṣaḥîfa*. The end of the quotation is not quite literal.
p. 110, lines 10–12. From the 31st *Ṣaḥîfa*.
p. 111, lines 11 sq. From the 16th *Ṣaḥîfa*.
p. 116—end. Different from the HBAI. Apparently "edited" and supplemented with references to Nâṣiri Khusraw's supposed authorship.

The passages which are identified most probably show that the author of the original version preferred to paraphrase his sources, while the supposed final "editor" of the present version simply copied them, as in the case of the quotation from the *Laṭâ'ifu'ṭ-ṭawâ'if*, and the "fifth *mas'ala*" from an unidentified work.

It is difficult to offer any observations here on the language of the work, so long as some portions of it, which may be quotations from different sources, remain unidentified. On the whole, the language seems to be rather mixed: old forms and expressions appear here and there, but are not typical of the treatise as a whole. It may be mentioned that there are many instances of the archaic form of the preposition *ba* with *-d-* before pronouns: *badîshân*, *badîn*, *badân*=*ba îshân*, *ba în*, *ba ân*, *etc.* (only rarely *badû*=*ba û*, as on p. 98). The old particle *mar-* which is used with postposition *-râ*, is found quite often here (mostly in literal translations from Arabic),—cf. p. 47, line 13: *mâ mar-Khudây-râ'îm*. There are occasional instances of the old "*yâ* of narrative", *yâ-yi istimrârî*, as also of *yâ-yi sharṭ*, with verbs; occasional forms of the "second Future", of Perfect and Pluperfect with *mî-*; occasional peculiar expressions like *yawmi âkhir Shâhi Mardân-râ khwâst* (p. 41, line 13), in which *khwâst*= meant. This expression is quite typical of Nâṣir's *Wajhi dîn*, where it is found quite often.

Such expressions as *wâzhgûnagî* (p. 45, line 16); or *bâlîdan* (p. 53, line 15, to be read so instead of "*mawâlîd*", given in the text); or *mândan* used as a transitive verb (p. 49, line 18: *wa hîch chîz az û bâz na-mânad*="and will keep nothing from him"), etc., seem to be incorporated from various quotations from older works. The numerous forms of the Precative: *bakhshâd*, *kunâd*, *dihâd*, etc., which appear in the end of different chapters, in conclusive invocations of God, most probably are not real archaisms, but Central Asian ("Badakhshani") peculiarities similar to the pseudo-archaisms often heard in the jargonic

p. 62. The *bayt* at the top of the page (repeated on pp. 63, 72) is omitted in the HBAI.

p. 63, line 12. The *bayt* is omitted in the HBAI. Two important quotations from Ḥasan *'alâ dhikri-hi's-salâm*, referred to as *Fuṣûli mubârak*. The same in the HBAI.

p. 65, line 10. The *miṣrâ'* is omitted in the HBAI. The *Khuṭba* of Ḥasan *'alâ dhikri-hi's-salâm* is quoted.

p. 70 (line 18)—p. 72 (line 9). Omitted in the HBAI. The compiler, or the final editor, apparently simply copied this passage from an Ithna-'ashari or Sufic work, preserving even the original heading: "*mas'ala'i panjum dar ma'âd*", though there is no mention of other *mas'alas*. As it is omitted in the HBAI, it may be inferred that it is a later interpolation.

p. 72 (line 10)—p. 89. Agrees fairly well with the HBAI, though in the latter the text is slightly expanded (cf. pp. 74, 76, 77).

p. 73, line 1. Quotation from Ḥâfiẓ; also found in the HBAI.

p. 73, line 8. From the *Rawshanâ'i-nâma* of Nâsiri Khusraw, cf. p. 528, line 7 of the Tehran edition.

p. 75. References to the *'Umdatu't-ṭâlib*,[1] and the *Rawḍatu't-taslîm*.[2]

p. 79, line 10 to p. 80, bot.; p. 81, line 2 to 13[3]; p. 86, lines 8-17; p. 87, lines 12–14; p. 87, line 18 to p. 88, line 17,—all omitted in the HBAI.

pp. 89–94. The sixth *bâb*; agrees fairly well with the HBAI, and in some passages with the HBBS.

p. 89, lines 16 sq. Apparently taken from the HBBS, 25.

p. 90, lines 7–12. Literal quotation from the HBBS, 27. Also found in the HBAI.

p. 90 (line 15)—p. 91. Literal quotation from the HBBS, 27-28. Also found in the HBAI.

p. 91, line 15. The same *bayt* is quoted on p. 115.

p. 92. Literal quotations from the HBBS, 29, 30, 31.

pp. 94–116. The seventh *bâb*; agrees fairly well with the seventh *bâb* in the HBAI. Many literal quotations from the *Ṣaḥîfatu'n-nâẓirîn*, in both versions.

p. 104, lines 7–18. From the 25th *Ṣaḥîfa*. Lines 14–17 are inserted from the 24th *Ṣaḥîfa*.

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[1] Cf. p. xxiii and p. 71, note 2 of the Translation.

[2] As mentioned above, p. liii, note 1, it is not quite certain as to whether this version is really the same as the *Rawḍatu't-taslîm* which is known. Cf. also p. 71, note 1 of the Translation.

[3] This seems to be quoted from the beginning of a work by Bâbâ Sayyid-nâ himself,—his *Sharḥ* on the *Khuṭbatu'l-bayân*, which is an apocryphal work attributed to 'Alî ibn Abî Ṭâlib.

p. 38 (line 3)—p. 44 (line 5). Not found in the HBAI. Apparently derived from some Ithna-'ashari sources. In the passages which are omitted in the lithographed text the same *al-Jam' bayna'ṣ-Ṣaḥîḥayn*, and also the work called *Jâmi'*, and attributed to Abû Hâshim are mentioned. Repetitions: 40=43.

p. 44 (lines 5–17). Not in the HBAI. Literal quotation from the *Laṭâ'ifu't-ṭawâ'if*, by 'Alî b. Ḥusayn al-Wâ'iẓ al-Kâshifî (comp. between 933/1527 and 939/1533, the latter being the approximate date of the author's death). The quotation is taken from the second *bâb*, seventh *faṣl* (p. 30 of the Bombay lith. ed., 1311). In the passage which follows, and which is omitted in the present text, the same *al-Jam' bayna'ṣ-Ṣaḥîḥayn* is again referred to: also the two *Ṣaḥîḥs*, of Bukhârî and Muslim; the *Sharḥ* on the *Nahju'l-balâgha*, by 'Umar ibn Abî'l-Ḥadîd (d. 655/1257): the compiler also mentions his own works: a *risâla* of controversial contents, and another one, in the same style, *Kitâbi Arba'în*.[1]

p. 44 (line 18)—p. 52. Very losely agrees with the HBAI, although almost every sentence is differently worded. There are many traces of "editing", in what touches on the question of Nâṣiri Khusraw.[2] The list of the Imams is generally variable in this work. Here the names do not completely agree with those given in the HBAI.[3]

pp. 52–56. The fourth *bâb*; agrees fairly well with the HBAI. The text on p. 52 very much resembles the 21st *Ṣaḥifa* from the *Ṣaḥîfatu'n-nâẓirîn*, though it does not agree with it literally.

pp. 57–58. The contents are the same as in the HBAI, but the wording agrees only occasionally.

pp. 58–70. The fifth *bâb*: it generally agrees with the HBAI almost literally.

p. 59 (lines 3–6). A quotation from the HBBS (p. 5, line 15, to p. 6, line 2), referred to as *Fuṣûli mubârak*.

p. 61. Both *bayts*, quoted here, are omitted in the HBAI.

datu'l-muta'allimîn (which in Zaroobin's copy is perverted into *Rawḍatu'l-muqallimîn*; no information as to whether it is mentioned in Semenov's copy). One could be not far wrong in assuming that this is the same work as the *Rawḍatu't-taslîm*.

[1] See p. 37 of the Translation.

[2] The only reference to Nâṣiri Khusraw which is given in the HBAI is quoted in note 8 on p. 43 of the Translation.

[3] As is already mentioned on p. xliii, note 1, and on p. 42, note 4, a commentary on this portion of the treatise is reserved for a special article to be published hereafter.

pp. 13–17. Some matters, especially on pp. 14–15, are taken from the second *bâb*.

pp. 17–19. The beginning of the second *bâb*; it is different from the HBAI, but has apparently been taken from Ismaili sources.

pp. 19–23. Correspond to some extent with the first *bâb* of the HBAI. The subject is the same, but the text does not agree literally except in a few passages. Repetition on pp. 21 = 26.

pp. 23–26. The beginning of the third *bâb* here agrees with the beginning of the third *bâb* of the HBAI, but soon both versions part, and agree only rarely. The KP seems to derive its controversial discussions from some Ithna-'ashari sources. The HBAI is shorter, and much more restrained.

pp. 26–27. Quite different from the HBAI. Apparently derived from Ismaili sources. Repetitions: pp. 24 = 40; 26 = 21; 27 = 31.

p. 27 (line 14)—p. 34 (line 7). Not in the HBAI. Based on the XVth *bâb* of an early Arabic Ithna-'ashari work, the *Kitâbu't-tawḥîd*, by Ibn Bâbûya al-Qummî (d. 381/991), see pp. 110–114 of the (Tehran) lith. ed., 1285/1869. Some passages are literally translated (p. 30, line 11 = p. 113; p. 31, line 14 = p. 113, etc.). Most probably some other Ithna-'ashari work was also used. Repetitions: pp. 31 = 27; 32 = 107, etc.

pp. 34–37. Not in the HBAI, though something in common is found in the end of p. 34. Apparently derived from an Ismaili work. Reference to *al-Jam' bayna'ṣ-Ṣaḥîḥayn* (see footnote 2 on p. 29 of the Translation).

p. 37 (line 5)—p. 38 (line 3). Not in the HBAI. Almost literally quoted from the 3rd *Ṣaḥîfa* of the *Ṣaḥîfatu'n-nâẓirîn*,[1] which is here incorporated almost entire.

[1] The *Ṣaḥîfatu'n-nâẓirîn* is a small treatise, divided into 36 *ṣaḥîfas*, composed in 856/1452 or 857/1453, the first date being given in the *khâtima* of the copy in Zeroobin's collection, and the second in Semenov's and the Bombay copy (cf. "Guide", No. 611). The first two copies do not contain the name of the author, but in the preface of the Bombay copy the name of the author is given as Sayyid Suhrâb. According to oral tradition, he was a pupil of Nâṣiri Khusraw, but nothing beyond this is known about him. It seems that the statement of the Bombay copy is based only on this oral tradition which cannot be accepted as conflicting with the date given above. The work itself agrees remarkably in the sequence and dealing with subjects with the *Rawḍatu't-taslîm*, often referred to above, and attributed to Naṣîru'd-din Ṭûsî (cf. "Guide", No. 642). It is much shorter, and deals with the subjects in a strictly "Badakhshani" way, i.e. in the style of the works belonging to the school of Nâṣiri Khusraw. There is no doubt as to the connection between these two works when they are compared; in addition to this, at the end of the 26th *ṣaḥîfa* a reference is given to a work called *Risâla'i Raw-*

times the *tashdîd* is most surprising: *passari 'amm=pusari 'amû*. In Arabic words it is often quite superfluous: *khabbar, sabbab, shajjara=khabar, sabab, shajara*, etc. At the same time it is clearly marked *naṣ* for *naṣṣ*. How the Central Asian Ismailis read Persian is shown by interesting vocalisation: *'atrat, nusbat. mi'âd, tuḍḍâd* (=*taḍâdd*), etc. It is remarkable to see *ḥaqayyiqat* written instead of *ḥaqîqat*. The use of the *hamza* is very fantastic—*Yâ'jûju wa Mâ'jûju=Yâjûj wa Mâjûj*; sometimes the copyist puts a *jazm* over the long *î* in the words like *dîn*.[1] And so this goes all through the copy. These vocalisation marks are added in red ink, together with occasional glosses to Arabic words

Whether it is possible to attach much significance to this, or not, it is difficult to decide. Similar vocalisation is occasionally found in Central Asian MSS, but usually in a small number of examples which are always treated by the reader as incidental mistakes. It would be interesting to pay special attention to these, and to examine the matter thoroughly.

2. *The Text of the Work.*

As already mentioned,[2] the text of the *Kalâmi Pîr* consists mostly of quotations from different works, partly Ismaili, and partly Ithna-'ashari. Some of them can be identified, though they are not mentioned by their titles. Other works remain so far unidentified, but it is quite possible that gradually their titles will be found. The difference in the character of the contents, in the language, style, various anachronisms, etc., show at once that we have to deal with passages taken from different sources. But it is not always possible to be quite certain where the quotation begins and where it ends.

The relation of the *Kalâmi Pîr* to the *Haft-bâbi Abû Isḥâq* has also been discussed above.[3] Here an approximate analysis of the composition of the KP, with regard to its agreement with the text of the HBAI and the identifiable quotations, is given below:

pp. 8–11. *Muqaddima*, or *dîbâcha*; original, but partly modified by the final editor. Different in the HBAI.

pp. 11–12. Beginning of the first *bâb*. On p. 12, lines 5 to 11, it literally agrees with the *Âtash-kada*, by *Luṭf-'Alî Beg Âdhar* (p. 187 of the Bombay lith. ed., 1277/1860). Further on the subject remains the same, but the text is different.

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[1] This latter practice is quite common in India. All editions of the Coran which appear in Bombay, etc., have this incorrect marking of the long vowels.

[2] Cf. above, p. xxii.

[3] Cf. above, pp. xxi-xxvi.

The MS 1219[1] presents nothing remarkable in its ways of dealing with the text, the orthography of Persian and Arabic words, etc. It is a typical production of a Central Asian copyist of very inferior class.[2] The MS 1207 is much better, though it is also a work of an amateur, who was very careful and diligent, but, as we can see from his rather childish handwriting, not highly educated. Arabic passages in both copies are mostly unintelligible. In the case of the Coranic verses it was fairly easy to correct them. But in the case of different *ḥadîths*, especially rare ones, the matter was quite hopeless. Fortunately, these hopelessly mutilated passages were all accompanied by Persian translations, so that it was possible to omit their Arabic version in a few particularly bad cases, without interfering with the text and the sequence of ideas. Only obvious errors have been corrected without special reference, together with the usual mistakes in the use of different letters, in the way of marking the *idâfat*, etc., which are common in all the inferior copies written in Central Asia. Occasionally, however, it was possible to find better readings, or to correct the text from a comparison with the original works from which the passages were quoted, or with the *Haft-bâbi Abû Isḥâq*, mentioned above (see p. xxi sq.). All these corrections are noted in the footnotes to the translation.

A very interesting feature of the oldest copy, MS 1207, is the fact that on many pages isolated words, and sometimes whole passages, not only in Arabic, but also in Persian, are vocalised. The vocalisation of the Arabic words usually does not call for special note, - it shows that the copyist quite correctly understood the meaning of the signs of vocalisation. But it is worth drawing the attention of the student to the most extraordinary vocalisation which the copyist gives to *Persian* words.

The most ordinary word, the 3rd pers. Sing. from the Substantive verb, *ast*, is invariably vocalised as *assut*! *Nîst* becomes *nîssut*; *chîst*=*chîssut*; *hast*=*hassut*; occasionally it is *assat*,—*naql assat ki*; *Khudâssut*=*Khudâ'st*: there is also *but-parassat*=*but-parast*. This extraordinary passion for *tashdîd* appears to be common with the suffix of the 3rd pers. Plur. of the verbs: *nîsutannad*=*nîstand*; *khwânannad*=*khwânand*: *bi-dânannud*=*bi-dânand*; *na-mî-tûnannud*=*na-mî-tawânand*: some-

[1] For the sake of brevity these two copies are referred to under the date of their transcription.

[2] Almost all copies of Ismaili works preserved in the different districts on the Upper Oxus are prepared by sectarians for their own use. There are no professional scribes, and every Ismaili who masters reading and writing with elementary instruction in the religion, ultimately receives permission to copy, and to possess a MS of this or that work. So, obtaining a copy from his friends, he carefully transcribes it for himself as correctly as he can.

Unfortunately, it was quite out of the question either to get a loan of these MSS, or even to obtain photostats from them, for the present edition.

The text here offered is originally based on a much older copy, dated Sipânj, the 23rd Rab. ii 1219/1-viii-1804.[1] It is a fairly good copy, preserving some archaisms in its language. Unfortunately, its condition is not good. Some pages are missing, while other pages are entirely or partly illegible because the MS is damaged by water. As it was not possible to obtain another copy, or to arrange for the loan of the St. Petersburg MSS, it was decided to prepare a tentative edition from the copy available. As far as it was possible to ascertain from some learned Nizaris, almost all the missing passages in that MS dealt with purely controversial matters, leaving all essential subjects unaffected.

When the printing of the text was nearly completed, another, and this time complete copy, came to light. It was the oldest so far known, being dated Saturday the 14th Shawwâl 1207/the 25th May 1794 [2]; the place where the copy was made is not mentioned, but it also, for certain, comes from Shughnan. The end of our text, which is damaged in the preceding copy, is entirely based on this one.

A collation of both these copies revealed the most interesting fact of a remarkable absence of variants, though apparently the two copies are quite independent each from the other. The older copy does not contain as many archaisms in the language as the preceding one: but there are numerous cases in which one and the same error, or a similar perversion of the Arabic quotations appear in both. Thus it seems that such errors are introduced from an earlier original.

All passages which were omitted in the first copy, and thus were not included into the lithographed text, were carefully studied in this new copy. They are summed up, and inserted, in small type, in the translation in their proper places. All of them are mainly derived from Ithna-'ashari sources, and present nothing important with regard to Ismaili doctrine. Therefore it was decided not to give them in full, in the form of special appendices.

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[1] It belongs to Mukhi Muḥammad Mîr, a resident of Bombay, who very kindly lent it to me for the preparation of this edition. It is a volume of 465 pages, of about 16° size, on thick grey hand-made paper, apparently of Central Asian origin, 15 by 8 cm., nine lines 4,5 cm. long to a page. The handwriting is rather childish, as is often the case with these "home-made" copies. The text is enclosed in thick *jadwal* lines.

[2] It is a volume of 305 pages, 24,5 by 13 cm., 12 lines 7 cm. long to a page, on hand-made paper, enclosed in double *jadwal* lines. Bukhara binding.

is merely a psychic state (105 sq.), and that Hell is complete annihilation.[1] At the same time, it may be added, the material elements of the physical self, or human body, can again re-enter the evolution of the cosmic process (92), but this has nothing to do with the spirit or individuality of man.[2]

There are many other interesting questions of minor importance which are raised by the author. Unfortunately, he deals with them mostly in a haphazard way, and it would not be easy to bring them into any kind of system. In addition to this, the eclecticism of the work makes it difficult to find, without a special study, which ideas really belong to the Nizari school of thought, and which are merely picked out of some obsolete work which the author happened to peruse. His apparent inconsistency, and occasional obvious contradictions, as mentioned above, can only be explained by his indiscriminate borrowing from different works, and also by later interpolations by others.

III. The Manuscript and the Work.

1. *The Manuscript.*

The first known copy of the *Kalâmi Pir* was apparently brought from Shughnan by A. A. Polovtsev, at the time a Russian official in Turkestan, who in 1902 travelled in the Upper Oxus districts, and later on took an interest in Ismailism.[3] A photostatic copy of the MS was preserved in the Asiatic Museum of the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg. In 1914 another copy, dated the 1st Dhî ḥijja 1321/18-ii-1904, also from Shughnan, was brought to St. Petersburg by a Russian ethnologist, I. I. Zaroobin. It was also deposited in the Asiatic Museum.[4] In 1918 yet another copy was presented to the same Museum by A. A. Semenov. It is dated Rajab 1333/ May 1915.[5]

[1] Nevertheless, *'adhâb* in the future life is here lavishly promised to sinners and infidels, with many quite realistic details.

[2] Metempsychosis (*tanâsukh*) is decidedly rejected by all Ismaili authors, as *kufr*. Evolution, rebirth, etc., sometimes mentioned in a rather poetical way, just as in some Sufic works, refer to the elements of the body, scattered by decomposition. These transformations are concerned with material particles, which may again enter the composition of the body of a man, or an animal, or insect, etc. This has nothing to do with "incarnations".

[3] He was Consul General for Russia at Bombay in 1905. In his letter, dated the 29th July 1934, he writes that he knows nothing about the whereabouts of the original copy, and cannot now even remember whether he really brought one from Shughnan.

[4] A note on this copy is given in W. Ivanow's "Ismaili MSS of the Asiatic Museum", in the *Bulletin of the Russian Academy of Sciences*, 1917, pp. 368–371.

[5] See A. Semenov, "A Description of the Ismaili MSS collected by A. A. Semenov", in the same *Bulletin of the Russian Academy of Sciences*, 1918, pp. 2193–2202.

Apparently the real Nizari theory is that of the conscious soul's progress towards God by gradual acquisition of the knowledge of Divine mysteries, which are gradually revealed to the faithful by the *ḥudûd*, or the priestly teachers, and ultimately the *ḥujjat* and the Imam. When the human soul thus attains its highest wisdom, it becomes assimilated with the Highest Wisdom of the Universe which is an eternal substance, Divine in its origin. Thus what was originally an individual human soul, becomes entirely identified with and absorbed in God.

Rûḥ, soul, comes from the highest phase of the Divine Activity, the *amr*, or Primal Command (46).[1] It is eternal: those who have no real faith have no *rûḥ* (46). The term *nafs* (Pl. *nufûs*), is also used to convey the idea of soul, in *nafsi juz'iyya* (70), which seem to refer to the lower faculties of the spirit.

Knowledge of God, *ma'rifat*, is the basis of salvation, and it is acquired through following the instruction of the *ḥujjat* (47)[2] Recognition of, and obedience to the Imam of the time leads to the attainment of salvation (73), or, as it is called, the *ma'ad*, or return to the Original Source (91). Ismailism recognises the intercession of the Prophet and the Imam (72), though it is not clear, how, and before whom they intercede in this abstract scheme. Quite in agreement with Sufic ideas, the knowledge of one's self, *ma'rifati nafsi khûd*, produces the same effect as the attainment of the knowledge of God (73), but how is not explained in detail. Probably this is merely a restatement of the well-known *ḥadîth*.

One of the most interesting features of Nizari thought is the admission of many phenomena of religious life, and of some eschatological ideas, as being immanent to the human mind. Though the author apparently feels great difficulty in formulating his thoughts clearly, it is possible to think that his efforts most probably find their best expression in the well-known Christian formula: the kingdom of God is within us,—*mardumî'st*, as he says (91-92).

Notwithstanding the above, the author admits the literal truth of some primitive Islamic beliefs.[3] So, the idea that the good and evil actions of man will be weighed on the Day of Judgment must be accepted literally (110).[4] On the other hand, it appears quite inconsistent after this to think that Paradise

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[1] This should not be taken as a philosophical revelation, but probably is entirely based on the literal meaning of the verse of the Coran (XVII, 87), without any regard to the Plotinian or any other doctrine.

[2] The *hujjat* is here obviously mentioned in a broad sense, as generally an organiser of the propaganda, and this embraces the lower ranks of the priestly organisation as well.

[3] Cf. also above, p. xxxiii, note 1.

[4] Cf. on this subject also Wensinck, "The Muslim Creed", pp. 167 sq.

in God are the "people of gradual progress", *ahli tarattub*. The degree (*martaba*) of their piety may vary with individuals, but their general tendency is to perfect themselves. And lastly, there are the hopelessly vile and deliberately unclean people, *ahli taḍâdd*, i.e. the people of chaos and destruction, who are determined and obstinate in their resistance to any good counsel, and every word of truth (48).

Amongst the virtues which are attributed to the righteous, *ahli waḥdat*, many resemble in spirit Christian ideals: to regard one's fellow co-religionist as better than oneself; not to spare even life in helping him; not to refuse him anything in one's possession, etc. (48). We find a detailed definition of the righteous on pp. 70-71, with the division of the people into the *ahli yamîn* and *ahli shimâl*. The ideal qualities of an ideal *mu'min* are given on pp. 77-78.

These general ethical ideals are entirely dominated by religious views. The chief of them, obligatory (*farḍ*) to every Ismaili, is love for 'Alî (23) and his legitimate successors (24, 38, 39, 40). Prayer without sincere love for 'Alî is inefficient (23). Unreserved and unhesitating obedience to 'Alî and the Imams is obligatory (*wâjib*) (47, 76). One must not follow the example of the actions of the Imam (which he can easily misunderstand), but only his explicit commandments and teaching (46, 47). The worst sin is to criticise the Imam (45),—it means that one does not believe in the Imam at all, and possesses no *îmân* (45). Obedience to the teacher is necessary (47). No Ismaili must ever stop in striving to attain the highest possible degree of moral perfection (46-47); he must not be afraid of persecutions, however severe they are; he must help his co-religionist in the hour of need, etc. (47). Good deeds, *ḥasana*, are defined on p. 76. He must always avoid following the impulses of his lower nature, and must discipline himself (69).

7. *Salvation and Future Life.*

Though references to eschatological ideas are very frequent in this treatise, they are mostly interpreted allegorically as symbols, and not realities. Besides, the majority of such discussions are obviously derived from various works which belong to the earlier tradition, such, for instance, as the *Ṣaḥîfatu'n-nâẓirîn*, a work belonging to Nâṣiri Khusraw's school, on which the seventh *bâb* in the *Kalâmi Pîr* is chiefly based. In addition to this, here and there are to be found expressions in which the primitive Islamic eschatological and cosmogonical ideas are referred to without any special comment, and thus obviously have to be taken literally. There is also a strong Sufic element, with its theory about absorption of the soul in the Absolute.

same Divine or superhuman substance (44). At the periods when the Imam has a full manifestation, *ẓuhûr*, i.e. is not only a religious leader but also ruler of a nation, the *ḥujjat* abstains from preaching, though, by the order of the Imam, he may carry on with it (68); it is impossible that both the Imam and the *ḥujjat* should be hidden (68).

It may be added that many sides of the question of the *ḥujjat* remain quite dark in this treatise (as also in almost all other known Persian Nizari works). This clearly shows that the doctrine was introduced only at a late period, and was not thoroughly "worked out" before the circumstances in which the Nizaris had to exist became very adverse to them, and their literary activity was reduced to a minimum.[1]

6. *The System of Ethics.*

The *Kalâmi Pîr* is especially generous in advice of an ethical nature. Such advice forms rather a prominent feature of Persian Nizari literature in general. It must not be forgotten that the most popular and classic work on ethics in Persian, the *Akhlâqi Nâṣirî*, was composed by Naṣîru'd-dîn Ṭûsî, who was at that time,—at least officially,—an Ismaili, and wrote for the Ismaili governor, or *muḥtasham* of Qâ'in, Nâṣiru'd-dîn 'Abdu'r-Raḥîm.[2] Even to-day Persian Sufic moralistic works in prose, and particularly in verse, form the favourite reading of all the Persian-speaking Ismailis.

These speculations on the principles of righteous life and virtuous behaviour are all thoroughly religious in spirit, and Shi'itic in their substance. Just as in their paintings Persians recognize only pure, undiluted bright colours, so all these moral counsels are so ideal that they cannot be made applicable to ordinary mortals.

The highest class of mankind, the people who have attained the highest religious virtues, *ahli waḥdat*, are entirely absorbed in God, so that their will becomes the will of God, and their actions become the actions of God.[3] Ordinary mortals who believe

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[1] It seems that the fullest account of the doctrine about the *ḥujjat* is given in the *Ma'dinu'l-ḥaqâ'iq*, or the *Faṣl dar shinâkhti Imâm wa ḥujjat*, which was edited and translated by me in the VIIIth vol. of the Memoirs of the As. Soc. of Bengal, 1922, pp. 1-76, especially pp. 18–23, and 32–42. The HBBS and the *Rawḍatu't-taslîm* are remarkably reticent on this point. Thus it is possible that this dogma, just as that of the *mustawda'* Imam, received its fullest development only at the post-Alamut period, and thus appears to be the product of some special conditions of the mediæval evolution of the community.

[2] Cf. JRAS, 1931, pp. 527-528.

[3] This seems to be derived from Sufic ideas, with the numerous anecdotes, such as those about al-Ḥallâj, etc., which are always on the tip of the tongue of every religiously inclined Persian.

between the functions of the three lower ranks, the *mustajîb*, or initiated, the *ma'dhûni aṣghar*, or the junior *ma'dhûn* (one who is permitted to preach), and the senior (*akbar*) *ma'dhûn*, is not quite clear (93).

The most thorough change took place in connection with the office of *ḥujjat*. Under the last Fatimids there were twelve (or even twenty-four) *ḥujjats*[1], and the term implied a bishop-resident, in charge of a large *see*, which usually covered a large province. In the Nizari system there is only one *ḥujjat*. He is a kind of diminutive copy of the Imam, and stands in relation to the latter the same as that of Imam to God. He is endowed with the inborn superhuman knowledge of the Imam and all his mysteries. It is only through him that one can know the Imam, just as it is through the Imam that one can know God. He is no longer a highly qualified, experienced, and capable priest, promoted to this office from lower ranks of the hierarchy, but usually a close relative of the Imam, sometimes even a woman, or even an infant.[2] In the symbolical schemes of the world he symbolizes the *Nafsi kull*,[3] thus taking the place which in Fatimid literature is occupied by the Imam himself.

The terminology connected with the *ḥudûd* becomes rather confused. The earlier term *ḥujjat* in the sense of the bishop-resident cannot be used in its former sense, and is replaced by a rather archaic expression, *lâḥiq* (Plur. *lawâḥiq*, cf. 93, 103), which is not as common in Fatimid literature as *ḥujjat*, though it is a synonym of it. The author apparently consciously uses the term *lâḥiq*, in order to avoid confusion with the term *ḥujjat*, used in its new sense.

The term *bâb*, which under the Fatimids was applied to the chief *ḥujjat*, is mentioned by the author several times (64, 101, etc.), but its meaning is quite vague. Sometimes, as on p. 57, it is clear that it is used in the sense of the Imam, as also in the form *Bâbi aqdas* (67).[4]

The *ḥujjat* (in the new sense of the term) is infallible (*ma'ṣûm az khaṭâ*, 58); he knows the Imam without any intermediary (*wâsiṭa*) (94); just as all the Imams are the same in their substance, so all the *ḥujjats* are the manifestation of one and the

[1] As is known, there were at a later period as many as 24 *ḥujjats*, twelve being called the "*ḥujjats* of day", and the other twelve,—the "*ḥujjats* of night". It seems, however, that the number twelve was purely symbolic; at the same time it appears that at any rate towards the end of the Egyptian period, these titles tended to become simply honorific.

[2] Sometimes even a *book* may be regarded as the *ḥujjat*.

[3] Cf. above, p. xl, note 5.

[4] Most probably as an allusion to the well-known *ḥadîth*: "I am the city of knowledge, and 'Alî is its gate (*bâb*)".

(49).[1] Generally such acting or "personal" Imam (*mustawda'*) does not differ from the ordinary (*mustaqarr*) Imam in any thing except in *waṣâyat*. He is in his time the greatest of all men, and possesses the knowledge of the mysteries of Imamat (75) which the ordinary sons of the Imam do not possess.

5. *Ḥudûdi Dîn.*

We have already referred to the evolution of the priestly organisation in Nizari Ismailism.[2] The subject is very interesting, but is too large and complex to be dealt with here. It may briefly be stated that the hierarchy apparently attained its highest development under the later Fatimids, and began to shrink after the split, both in the Musta'lian and the Nizari branches. The "seven ranks", or degrees (*ḥudûd*, which is the Plural from *ḥadd*, originally meaning "limit"), always played a conspicuous part in Ismaili symbolism, and these *haft ḥudûdi dîn* remained in the Nizari system as a more or less fossilized dogma inherited from antiquity, when it already ceased to reflect the real features of the priestly organisation.[3] There is no trace in the KP (as also in other known Nizari works) of anything like the "degrees of initiation" into the secret doctrine about which the orthodox historians tell so many fanciful stories.[4]

Though these traditional *ḥudûd* are often referred to in the KP, they seem to have only a symbolical character. The office of *dâ'î*, as far as it is possible to see from the known Nizari works, was probably taken over by the *mu'allim*, or (religious) teacher.[5] This probably indicates that the interests of the leading circles have turned from the expansion of the Ismaili community to the question of merely its preservation. What was the difference

[1] The theory of temporary Imams apparently was introduced after the split. It is interesting that in the HBBS only the term *mustaqarr* is found (*Imâmâni mustaqarr*, in general sense, cf. pp. 12, 40, orig.), and the term *mustawda'* is not mentioned at all. In the *Rawḍatu't-taslîm* it also seems to be absent. Thus it may be of quite late origin. In the Fatimid period, as is well-known, Ḥasan b. 'Alî was regarded as an ordinary Imam.

[2] Cf. above, p. xxx.

[3] The number seven is still retained in a hierarchy of honorary ranks by the Nizaris of India, though the present ranks have nothing to do with the original system. Cf. JRAS, 1931, p. 557, note 2.

[4] See "Guide", p. 19 sq.

[5] It may be noted that the office of professional *dâ'î* or missionary disappears in the Nizari branch probably soon after the split, but this does not mean that no propaganda was carried on whenever an opportunity presented itself. Thus it is known that in India, far away from the domination of the brutal Mongols, Nizari missionaries had great success soon after their metropolis was practically ruined. In India, however, they adopted terms of Indian origin, and rarely called themselves *dâ'î*.

other places); they are the *ahli Bayt*, or members of the household of the Prophet, and *'itrat*, or "close relatives" whom the Prophet, in his last will, bequeathed to his followers, together with the Book of God which was revealed to him, and which cannot be separated from the *ahli Bayt* (34, 76).

All the Imams are of the same substance and nature as 'Alî; there are no smaller or greater Imams amongst them (65). The line of the Imams can never become extinct or interrupted (31).[1] All Imams are infallible, sinless (*ma'ṣûm*), and free from fornication (44). As is said in the Coran (II, 118), the covenant of God is never made with the vile (34-36). It is said also about them that the legacy of the Prophets is not left to any one unless he deserve it (42). Thus it will be seen that even if the Imam does not in appearance follow the prescriptions of the *sharî'at*, one must not think that the Imam commits a sin: the Imam can completely disregard the *sharî'at*, can cancel it, or alter it (75), because its prescriptions are inapplicable in the realm of Absolute Reality to which he belongs. He can at any time cancel his own earlier commandments, or any prescription given by his predecessors (70). His followers, therefore, have no right to judge him by his actions, or to follow his example (*fi'l*), without his explicit command, as his actions may have special reasons, beyond the comprehension of ordinary mortals (45).

Personally, as individuals, except for the Divine Power which is connected with them, the Imams are ordinary mortals, subject to all the infirmities which are inseparable from our own physical bodies (50, 115): they can have any possible human form, state, etc., can be "dressed in 30,000 different dresses" (65). But when the Imam is concealed (*mastûr*), there are always some chosen ones amongst his followers who know where he is, and are in contact with him, leading to him those who are very anxious to see him (22, 26, 50, 115). It can never happen that the Imam is completely "lost", and that no one of his followers can find his way to him (26).

The Imam is appointed as such by the direct indication of his father, i.e. by the *naṣṣ*, which may be either express, *ṣarîḥ*, or implied, *khafî* (49, 62, 76). The ordinary Imam, who forms a link in the eternal chain of *Imâmat*, is called *mustaqarr*. But sometimes an Imam, for some reasons, appoints one of his sons as an acting Imam, whose Imamhood is only personal, and cannot be transferred to any one. Such Imam is called *mustauda'* (49, 75). This was the case with Ḥasan son of 'Alî

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[1] I intentionally abstain here from making any comments on the succession of the Imams as given at the end of the third *bâb*, because this question must be examined thoroughly, and would require more space than is available here.

(74, and *passim*). If, by any chance, he would disappear from the world even for a moment, the world would instantly collapse (21, 22, 26, 61, 62, 74). The Imam looks upon the world 100,000 times a day, and it is only owing to this that the world lasts (26, 48, 65). Not only this earth, but 18,000 other worlds [1] thus depend on him (18); he is the source of life (*nutfa*) of the Universe (27),—the light which makes visible every thing, heaven and earth (27).

Imamat in relation to mankind originally means the office of "guide", or "leader" (*pîshwâ'î*) (35-36, 61). The leader who is thus referred to is the Imam, through whom God will call mankind on the Day of Judgment, as is said in the Coran (XVII, 73) (48). This guidance implies not only the introduction of orderliness into the moral sphere but also into the functions of the cosmic mechanism (68-70). He conveys to mankind the knowledge of the mysteries of the Universe and of God (70), the knowledge of the invisible and supersensual realities (21), which cannot be attained without him. This is the reason why every one who during his life does not come to recognize his significance in this world, and does not try to receive this knowledge from him, dies as a godless and ignorant man (*kâfir*), for whom there will be no chance of immortality after death (27, 48, 69). To recognize and follow the Imam is the same as following God Himself (21, 24, 26, 72, 115).

God can be known to man only through *Mardi waqt*, i.e. *The Man*, the head of mankind, who is present in every period of time (40, 60, 67, 115); he receives directly from God his instructions and inspiration (69), without any intermediate agency, such as Jabra'îl (28). He is the most miraculous and supernatural substance in the visible world, *mazharu'l-'ajâ'ib* (65), whether being manifest to all, during the period of *kashf*, or hidden, during the period of *satr* (66-67), which depend on his wishes either to bless mankind with his presence, or to punish them by being absent from the sight of the majority. His complete *zuhûr*, i.e. when he appears as a powerful king, is like day; and when he is hidden from the sight of the majority of his followers, it is like dark night all over the world (67).

The Imams are the *dhurriyyat*, the "progeny, (born) one from another", mentioned in the Coran (III, 30, and many

[1] These "worlds" (*'âlam*) should not be understood in accordance with the modern ideas, as different planets, or stars, on which there is life similar to that on our planet. These "worlds" most probably are nothing but cosmic periods, or "geological epochs", using the modern term, and refer to different periods of our world, or earth. Though there is never any direct indication, it seems that we will not be far wrong if we guess that these "worlds" are connected with the periods of seven thousand years each, and the "Great Era" of 360,000 years, mentioned above (p. xxxv). Cf. also in the *Rawdatu't-taslîm*, JRAS, 1931, pp. 527-528.

Imâmat is higher (*afḍal*) than *nubuwwat*, or prophethood (74, 86),[1] and the "light" (*nûr*, i.e. substance) of the latter is derived from the former (86); but Great Prophets (Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Muḥammad), as mentioned above, combine in themselves both the *nabî* and the *walî* (74, 86).

As one can see, the majority of these ideas are the same as those which were developed in the earlier period of the evolution of Ismailism. But in his indiscriminate borrowing from works of different periods the compiler introduces various ideas which are obviously quite obsolete in the Nizari school. For instance, on p. 103 he mentions that in every *'aṣr* (–what he means by this term is not clear) there are seven Imams. This, as the context shows, is probably taken from an early work, like the *Wajhi dîn* of Nâṣiri Khusraw, together with the speculations about the mystical significance of numbers.[2] Or, on p. 76, it is said that Imams are *muqarrabân*, the people "who stand very close to God", and are of the chosen ones. This would be appropriate to the chosen amongst ordinary mortals, but seems quite strange after all that is said above about the Divine nature of the Imam.

The Nizari strata of the doctrine show a much more extremist tone: the Imam is the Absolute Reality (*wujûdi muṭlaq*) (66); all that exists—exists through him. One who knows this must offer him praises and thanks (66). He is the "proof of God" (*ḥujjat*) (62), and it is for this reason that some Imams have said: "What is said about God refers also to us" (62); the nature of the Imam is the mysterious tree of *Ṭûbâ* in Paradise (105). He is the real Lord of the world (47, 61), the centre (*madâr*) of the heavens and earths; without him the world cannot exist

Imam is regarded as the hypostasis of the Primal Divine Volition, *logos*, the *amr*,—"be". Scarcity of Nizari works does not permit us to come to a definite conclusion on this point at present, but it seems highly probable that the eclectic author of the KP, who apparently was not well conversant with philosophical matters, simply took this statement, together with others, from a work belonging to the school of Nâṣiri Khusraw, continuing Fatimid tradition.

[1] This logically follows from what is said above, but is against the earlier, i.e. Fatimid theories, which chiefly emphasize the importance of *nubuwwat*. It may be noted, however, that the idea of superiority of *Imâmat* over *nubuwwat* is also widely accepted by Ithna-'asharis of extremist shade, by Sufis, etc. *Mawlâ ba-zâhir ṭâlibi Payghambar bûd, wa dar ḥaqîqat murshidi û bûd* = 'Alî was only in appearance a disciple of the Prophet, but in reality was his preceptor,—can be heard from every darwish when he is asked about the relation between them.

[2] In the HBBS, in a quotation from the *Khuṭba'i mubârak*, i.e. apparently an address by Imam Ḥasan *'alâ dhikri-hi's-salâm* himself (see p. 18 of the orig. MS.), the Imams are divided into groups of ten. The members of the first group are called *Awṣiyâ*, those of the second group, —*Imâm*, and those of the third, *Qâ'im*. Cf. also the "Guide", p. 8, footnote, and the footnote on p. xxix above.

be disrespectful.[1] The term *Asâs* here appears probably only in quotations from older works, those treatises which belong to the school of Nâsiri Khusraw (57, 101, 102, 109); here sometimes it has quite a different meaning, being applied either to the *ḥujjat*, or, perhaps, *dâ'î*.[2]

As mentioned above, the name 'Alî is sometimes used as a term referring to the Imams in general.[3] The term *Qâ'im*, originally used for the promised Messiah, or the Seventh Great Prophet who is to come on the Day of Resurrection, here in the KP is often used instead of *Imâm*.

'Alî is the *ûlû'l-amr* (23) mentioned in the Coran; he is the "Last Day" (8, 23, 24, 41), referred to in the Coran. He is one to whom God has entrusted His own duties (*kâri khwîsh*) on earth (24); he is the redeemer of the sins of mankind (*dûstî-yi 'Alî gunâh-râ mî-khûrad*) (88); obedience to him is the same as obedience to God Himself (24), etc. All this is applicable to Imams in general.

The *naṣṣ*, or explicit and unequivocal appointment of 'Alî as the *Waṣî*, the Executor of the Prophet's will, was made at Ghadîr Khumm (38, 40, 41), when the Prophet uttered the well-known statements: "'Alî is the lord of all those whose lord I am", and "'Alî is to me as Aaron to Moses".

He is superior to all prophets and saints (74, 86): the purpose of his mission is to "pay the debts of the Prophet" (57), i.e. to complete his preaching of religion, supplementing the lacunae left by the Prophet in his system. To him the faithful must swear allegiance (*bay'at*) (61); there is no greater offence (*ẓulm*), and no greater impiety (*shirk*) than to regard any one as equal to or superior to 'Alî (56). The title *Mawlâ-nâ*, "Our Lord", which in the Coran is applied to God (61), can also be applied to 'Alî.[4]

According to the speculations of the early philosophical literature on the *ḥaqâ'iq*, or the prototypes of things in the world of realities, the *Asâs*, or *Waṣî* corresponds with the *Nafsi kull*, or the Cosmic Conscious Principle of Animation in the Plotinian system. This is also to be found here (57), though, as has been shown, the KP takes not much interest in philosophy.[5]

[1] To say in Persian simply '*Alî*, without the invocation of blessings, etc., is considered very impolite, and to repeat each time all the titles would be too long. It may be noted that in Persia generally the term Mawlâ-nâ is applied only very rarely to other saints than the Imams (as e.g. Rûmî). In the Ismaili texts the title Mawlâ-nâ is given to Imams only. But in India at present the title has been much misused, and has lost all its original implications: it may be given to any one.

[2] On p. 76 *asâs* apparently is used for *dâ'î*.

[3] Cf. above, p. xxxviii.

[4] Cf. above, note 1.

[5] It appears from other Nizari works (cf. the *Rawḍatu'l-taslîm*, the 26th *taṣawwur*) that the *Nafsi kull* is usually identified with the *ḥujjat*;

As an Imam is always present in the world, which cannot exist without him even for a moment (as the Prophet said), it is to be assumed that he was ever-present in the preceding *dawrs* also, i.e. in the periods of other prophets (115). The memory of the earliest periods, however, is lost, and the Nizaris are only certain about the presence of the Imams from the time of Abraham. After him *Imâmat* became permanent (*lâzim wa wâjib*), continuing in his descendants,—*dar nasli û qarâr girift* (76).

As is well-known in the time of the Fatimids the title of Imam was not applied to 'Alî himself, who was styled the *Waṣî*, *Walî*, *Asâs*, or rarely *Ṣâmit*. The *Waṣî*, or the Executor (of the Prophet's will),[1] appears as an official and religious term, while *Asâs*, and especially *Ṣâmit*, are mostly used in connection with esoteric speculations. In addition to this, Ismailis apply to him the term which can be considered as common to all branches of the Shi'ites,—the *Walî*. It is very difficult to select an appropriate English term which would convey at least the principal implications of the original; perhaps the best would be "one who stands the nearest" (to God). For the sake of conciseness we may use the expression "the Friend of God" by which the term *Walî* in this sense is usually translated, warning, however, that "friendship" in this sense is not to be understood as friendly relations between equals (20, 23, 24, 41, etc.).[2] The author of the KP also uses the expressions *Mawlâ*, or *Amîru'l-mu'minîn*, which may be regarded as typically Persian, and are very much used by the Ithna-'asharis.[3] They are often employed to avoid calling 'Alî by his name, as this would

idea is often the motive of the poems of an Ismaili poet of the Safawid period, Imâm-Qulî of Dizbâd, near Nîshâpûr, who is known as Khâkî Khurâsânî, and whose *Dîwân* is lithographed and published in this series. But it must be carefully noted that this never refers to 'Alî ibn Abî Ṭâlib as an individual. 'Alî in this sense is merely a name for Imam in general, the *Substance of 'Alî*, or *Imâmat*, which during his period of Imamship miraculously rested upon him, just as it rests on every Imam after him, and rested on every Imam before him. Nothing is so wrong as to understand this in the sense of "incarnations", and to mix it up with Indian and other primitive ideas of *karma*, etc. This is what A. Semenov does in his edition and translation of the *Qaṣîda'i Dhurriyya*, by Raqqâmî Dizbâdî (not by Khâkî, as stated by him, but by Khâkî's son, 'Alî-Qulî, son of Imâm-Qulî): see "An Ismaili ode on the incarnations of god-'Alî" (in Russian)", "Iran", vol. II, St. Petersburg, 1928, pp. 1–24.

[1] Sometimes this term is understood in this work in the sense of "heir"; the author sometimes plainly speaks about "bequeathing" the authority of the Prophet, as on pp. 42, 75, etc.

[2] Indian Nizaris, i.e. the Khojas, usually avoid applying the term *Walî* to 'Alî.

[3] This seems really not to be the Ismaili, but the general Persian practice, introduced at a late period. Early Ismaili works, in Arabic, do not monopolize it for 'Alî.

same in their substance (84-85). The Great Prophet participates in *Imâmat* (or *walâyat*) in addition to his own *nubuwwat*, i.e. prophethood (86), and thus there is no possibility of these two Divine functions clashing with each other, because they are thus united in one and the same person. *Imâmat* or *Walâyat* is regarded as superior to the rank of a prophet in general, and the "light" of prophethood, *nûri nubuwwat*, comes from the "light" of Imamat, *nûri walâyat* (74).[1] This is why the Imam of the time can cancel the commandments of the *sharî'at* of the Prophet (*ibid.*). As they are essentially the same, the Imam, or *Asâs*, as he is called when he co-exists with a great Prophet, does not carry on his preaching when the Prophet is still alive.

Every Apostle starts a new religion, and forms a new civilisation (*millat*),[2] cancelling the religion of his predecessor (52, 63). His religion is intended for everybody, and is expressed in language which is intelligible to people generally, without regard to their being educated or not, in parables and allegories (54).

The author unhesitatingly accepts the Islamic belief that Muḥammad is the last and final Messenger of God, the *khâtimu'l-anbiyâ'* (69); that all his miracles are real, and that his ascension to heaven, *mi'râj*, is true (69). Whoever does not believe in these, or disobeys any of the prescriptions of the *sharî'at* without the permission of the Imam, is a *kâfir*, and his repentence will never be accepted (69). After the Prophet the authority passed to 'Alî, and from him to his rightly appointed direct descendants, the Imams; whoever does not believe in this is also like a *kâfir* (70).

4 *Imâmat*.

A special chapter, the fifth, probably the most important and interesting in the treatise, is devoted to the doctrine of *Imâmat*: there are also important references to it in other parts of the book.

The "light" of Prophethood, as mentioned above, existed before the creation of the world. The same is the case with the "light" of Imamat, because in reality both are the same (76). 'Alî (i.e. Imam in general) existed before the world was created (36),—this is a favourite subject of many Shi'ite poems.[3]

[1] The KP gives no information as to the part played by the 124,000 prophets which God has sent at different periods to mankind. Cf. also above, p. xxxv, note 3.

[2] The term *millat*, usually translated by "nation", "community", etc., in this sense would surely be better rendered by "civilisation": *millati Islâm* can only be translated by "the world of Islam".

[3] Many poems of this kind are attributed to Shâh Ni'matu'l-lâh Walî Kirmânî (d. 834/1431), and a legion of minor Shi'ite poets. This

new convert joins. The inner meaning of Islamic forms of worship are explained (94-97) with the help of *ta'wîl.*

3. *Prophethood* (*Nubuwwat*).

Generally Ismailism, and the Nizari doctrine, as explained in the KP, differ very little from the all-Muslim ideas about Prophethood. It is only in its relation to *Imâmat* that sectarian beliefs assume peculiar development. The fourth *bâb* is entirely devoted to this question, especially pp. 54–56; other parts of the book, as pp. 35-36 and 60 are also important.

The Imam is the spiritual guide of the world at every moment of its existence. His absence from the world, even if for a moment, would cause its complete collapse. The Prophet, on the other hand, appears only periodically. Once in a millennium God sends a great Prophet, or Apostle (*Rasûlu'l-lâh*), for what may be regarded as periodical cleaning and overhauling the social life of the mankind (55, 69). He conveys the message of God, which implies both the *ẓâhir* and the *bâṭin*. But, as mankind is not yet ripe to appreciate the wisdom connected with transcendent realities, his functions become limited to introducing new order into the social life of nations. Human nature is so quarrelsome, selfish, and cruel, that without being bound by the strict ties and chains of severe law, the *sharî'at*, the beast in man would easily overpower his higher self, and the inevitable internecine struggle would lead to the complete extinction of the human race (68).

The Prophet who is the "proof of God's existence" (9, 14) with mankind, corresponds with *'Aqli kull*, or the Primeval Cosmic Conscious Formative Principle of the Plotinian philosophy in the Universe (57).[1] His "light", or luminous substance of Prophethood, is eternal, and existed before the world was created (104). He was sent by God as His plenipotentiary, *ûlû'l-'azm* (52). There were so far six great Prophets. The last of them, Muḥammad, declared that after him there would be no more great Prophets. Therefore it is obvious that at the end of his millennial *dawr* the promised *Qiyâmat* would set in (69).

All the Prophets descend from one and the same stock (*nasl*) (26-27, 38); they are called *Nâṭiqs*, or "Preachers" (68). Their mission in their absence is supplemented, continued, and expanded by the teaching of the Imams. There is, and always was in the world an uninterrupted chain of Imams who continue the work of the *Waṣî*, or the Executor of the Prophet's will, 'Alî ibn Abî Ṭâlib. The Prophet and the Imam are the

[1] This is assumed both by Fatimid and Nizari tradition. As is well-known, this idea is widely accepted in Sufic philosophy, and even by many eminent theologians of orthodox schools in their attempts to bring the *kalâm* in agreement with philosophical ideas.

which is the same as the *ḥaqîqat* (here obviously taken in a Sufic sense).[1] Thus the *sharî'at*, or *ẓâhir*, finds its final completion in the revealed *bâṭin*, which is the *dîni qiyâmat* (or simply *qiyâmat*), i.e. the religion of the Last Day. It would be inaccurate to translate the term *qiyâmat* by "resurrection", in accordance with the all-Islamic terminology, because the Ismaili implications of this term are quite different, and do not include "rising in flesh" and the Judgment. Here the orthodox eschatological ideas are apparently concerned only in so far as the promise that the faithful will see God Himself, in His Real Substance.[2]

It may be noted that the *Qiyâmat* which was proclaimed at Alamut by Hasan *'alâ dhikri-hi's-salâm*, was for some reasons regarded as particularly important, the Great *Qiyâmat* (*Qiyâmatu'l-qiyâmât*), being the last one for the first half of the Great Cycle, 180,000 years from its beginning (19, 51).[3]

At the *Qiyâmat* God becomes visible to all; He can be seen directly (by *naẓar*), and no one will need indirect information, received through others (*ta'lîm*) (112). At that moment, in reality, all will be one: the *Qâ'im*, the *Qiyâmat*, the knowledge, the worship, the object of worship, the reward, etc.,—all these will be one and the same thing (112). The faithful will lose their individualities, their consciousness of their own being, and they will see only God (48, 112). This is obviously very close to the Sufic state of *fanâ fi'l-Ḥaqq*.

The author does not take up the question whether this world is eternal or finite. But judging from the fact that the *Qiyâmat* proclaimed on the 17th Ramaḍân 559 8-viii-1164 was the end of only the first half of the great cycle of 360,000 years (51), the matter was not so pressing.

A few words about conversion may be added. Conversion is described as finding the correct spiritual path (92-93) after losing all hope of finding truth in all other religions of the world, except the "rightly guiding and truly guided" one, which the

[1] We may note that the doctrine of the *Qiyâmat* is rarely commented upon in the early Ismaili works, in which the term is used in the general Islamic sense. Only a late author, Sayyid-nâ 'Imâdu'd-dîn Idrîs, who died in 872/1468, devotes several pages to this question in his *Zahru'l-ma'âni* (cf. "Guide", No. 260).

[2] About the controversy as to whether God will be seen on the day of Resurrection see Wensinck, "The Muslim Creed", pp. 63 sq. Here it is said that God will be visible as person (*mu'ayyan wa mushakhkhas*, p. 90=HBBS, 27); cf. also p. 112. It is not clear whether the expression "see" should be taken in a literal sense, or allegorical. The work abounds in passages in which it is difficult to see whether the author introduces certain ideas as allegories, or takes them literally.

[3] Apparently none of the known Nizari works explains why this particular *qiyâmat* is regarded as so important, and why should it be regarded as the end of the first half of the great cycle.

entirely on his own reasoning by analogy (which can be necessarily based only on very limited experience); this *qiyâs*, as it is technically called, as also the consensus of the opinion of the community, *ijmâ'*, cannot be relied upon. Ismailism completely disregards both these methods in matters of religion.[1]

Ismailism, apparently with very few other sects of Islam, develops the dogma of Prophethood into a peculiar system of the religious evolution of mankind to whom God sent His prophets for guidance. There are great and small cycles: the great (*dawra'i a'zam*, 19, or *ta'rîkhi buzurg*, 51), is equal to 360,000 years.[2] The small cycles are seven thousand years each; they are subdivided into (approximately) millennial periods, at the beginning of which what may be called a founder of a new civilisation appears,—Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, Muḥammad, and the expected *Qâ'im* (14, 57, 64, 65, 73 sq., 102).[3] Every great period is started by the introduction of a new religion. This religion, exercising great influence upon mankind in the beginning, gradually loses its original force (55, 69), and is ultimately replaced by a new system. And so it goes on for six thousand years. At the beginning of the last, seventh millennium in the cycle, the promised *Qâ'im* appears,[4] and introduces the final form of a revealed religion, the *qiyâmat*,

[1] These principles were rejected by Ismailism at the earliest period. The works belonging to Fatimid tradition are never tired of repeating their condemnation of them.

[2] It is difficult to find how the Ismaili authors arrived at this particular figure. The whole idea obviously belongs to mystic speculation. No mention is to be found about the circumstances of the preceding *dawr* of seven millennial cycles, or any other *dawrs*. Persian Ithna-'asharis often ascribe to Imam Ja'far Ṣâdiq a book (which I could never find), in which, according to them, the story of the successive "worlds" is told, when the earth was inhabited only by ants, or by other animals, all of which ultimately died, clearing the place for another period. This seems to be quite close to the Ismaili idea of *dawrs*.

[3] It is remarkable that some other prophets and Apostles who are mentioned in the Coran, such as Hûd, Ṣâliḥ, and others, and who also are styled *Rasûlu'l-lâh*, are never referred to, and the term *nabî* is almost invariably used in the sense of Great Prophet, one of these six. Terms like *anbiyâ*, *awliyâ*, also *nîkân* (=the "good ones") are used fairly frequently (see the index); but it seems that these are employed here in ordinary sense, and are not directly connected with the Ismaili doctrine.

[4] It is very interesting to note that these periods which are supposed to be a thousand years long, historically seem to be of much shorter duration. Most probably Ismaili authorities knew well that between Jesus and Muḥammad only less than six hundred years passed. In any case, the proclamation of the Great *Qiyâmat* in the year 559 after the Hijra of the Prophet requires no comments. Moreover, in the earlier phases of Ismailism there are clear traces that there was a tendency to regard as the *Sâbi'u'n-nuṭaqâ'*, i.e. the seventh Great Prophet, the Imam Muḥammad b. Ismâ'îl, who died not later than 200 A.H. only. This title is not applied (in all Nizari works that I have seen so far) to Mawlâ-nâ Ḥasan *'alâ dhikri-hi's-salâm*, but this seems to be due merely to the fact that the use of the term *Nâṭiq* was for some reasons discontinued.

Sharî'at, which is connected with the visible world, to which it belongs, cannot be the Reality. As everything of this world, it is only its *ẓâhir*, or outward form, or *mithâl*, symbol, referred to, or symbolizing the *mamthûl*, or *bâṭin*, i.e. the laws of the transcendent Reality, *ḥaqîqat*, the hidden foundations on which all is built (55). It is impossible to follow only the *tanzîl*, and *ẓâhir*.[1] The *tanzîl*, i.e. the Coran, also implicitly contains a revelation of the *ḥaqâ'iq*. These, however, cannot be understood by everybody, and are therefore hidden, *bâṭin* (56-57). The majority of mankind, pre-occupied with their own worldly affairs, are incapable of perceiving these hints as to the nature of the Absolute Reality, but a small minority may be ripe for this. For the guidance of these, and in order to spread the true knowledge, there is always in the world another, permanent, Messenger of God, who participates in the Divine nature He is fully authorized to convey to mankind this original knowledge, by the revelation (*ta'wîl*) of the inner meaning of the Divine revealed Message (*tanzîl*) which is intended for all, only so much as people are capable of understanding it (57, 109, etc) The part of the *Waṣî* (i.e. the Imam) is to complete the work of the Prophet, and to prepare people for the acceptance of the full truth when the next Apostle of God is sent (18, 55, 57, etc.).

The original religion of mankind, *fiṭrat* (104) is a kind of religious instinct, or pure religious sense, inborn to every one. It is the natural state of the human soul, living in agreement with God's commandments, in unhesitating and complete obedience to Him (114).[2] What the author apparently tries to express, is this : man, being endowed with a higher faculty,—his reason (and, probably, also freedom of will), must not surrender these his higher faculties to his bestial instincts. If he does so, a conflict with the Divine Will arises, and produces misery and evil. For this reason very few men are spiritually strong enough to recognize God and His Will without special Divine guidance (52, 62, and especially 112). This is why such guidance must always be available in the world, in the person of the Imam. Without it the world cannot exist even for a moment, and is bound to fall into chaos and destruction. Without Divine guidance man's own ideas of God and religion can easily mislead him, thereby taking him further from God instead of helping him to come nearer, and creating an obstacle (113) between man and God, or His world of Reality (89). The same error and corruption enters when man tries to depend

[1] Apparently what is implied is the recognition of the literal meaning of the Coran only, to the exclusion of any allegorical interpretation, as is the case with some strictly orthodox schools of Islam, such as, e.g., Ash'arites.

[2] Cf. about the *fiṭrat* cf. Wensinck, "The Muslim Creed", pp. 42 sq.

he becomes a true, but reduced, copy of the world (53-54). In man the element of Divinity is greater than in any other creature (53). It is he who had to take upon himself the immense burden (*bâri amânat*) of consciousness and responsibility for his actions before God, which was entrusted (*amânat*) to him (72-73). This clearly implies recognition of free will, though this point is not explicitly formulated, probably because the subject is too subtle and difficult. The term *tawḥîd*, implying the recognition of One Sole Source and Master of the world, is repeatedly mentioned (cf. 28, 79, 80, 85, 102). It is used in more or less the same sense as in Sufism. But the term *waḥdat*, in *ahli waḥdat* (cf. 48, 106, 108), has not the Sufic, but the Ismaili meaning, of the Imam and his *ḥujjat*. It may be noted, however, that in the KP quite primitive Islamic ideas are sometimes apparently accepted literally, while usually they are interpreted in an allegorical sense.[1]

2. *Religion.*

The fundamental Nizari idea of religion is a development of the original Islamic conceptions rather than of the Sufic. The authors of all known Nizari works, including the author of the KP, are never tired of repeating it. The purpose of the existence of the Universe is the realisation of a certain cosmic harmony, in which every created being knows its Creator, knows His Divine Will, and would completely obey it (cf. p. 52, etc.). As one of the phases of this cosmic process, God Himself acts in such a way as to permit mankind to learn about His transcendent Substance, and His Will, which all belong to the realm of Absolute Reality (*ḥaqîqat*), which is beyond the perception of our senses, and lies outside the visible world. In His limitless bounty, He periodically sends to mankind his special Apostles, who are ordinary men except for the fact that they are endowed with special inspiration (*waḥy*), which comes directly from God, by direct Divine action, *ta'yîd* (literally "helping"). When such Apostle finds that mankind is not yet ripe to understand the nature of Absolute Reality, revealed to men, he ceases to endeavour to enlighten them further, and limits his mission to imposing upon mankind a rigid system of social and religious laws,—the *sharî'at*. This is primarily intended to reduce to a minimum the inevitable mischief which would result from the internecine quarrels the tendency of which is innate in human nature.

[1] Cf. p. 69 (text) where it is said that the story of the *Mi'râj* of the Prophet is to be accepted literally. There are also references to *Qalam*, *Kursî*, etc., apparently taken from some Ithna-'ashari sources. The story of the angels, worshipping the image of 'Alî on Friday (p. 88), is obviously non-Ismailitic, and may be a later interpolation.

The author refutes agnosticism under the form of extreme profession of *tanzîh*, i.e. transcendence of God, to whom no attributes associated with the experience of the world of senses can be ascribed (58-59). "God has form and qualities, and at the same time has no form and no qualities" (59-60). The author struggles with this difficult thesis [1] and tries to explain that it is possible to know Him through the Imam, who participates in the Divine Essence.[2] "His ear is the ear of God", etc. (91). The author quotes the well-known, but rather mysterious *hadîth* concerning the Prophet having seen God at 'Arafât, "riding a camel, and with a red cloak on His shoulders" (60), and also refers to the ancient sacred books and different *hadîths* in which it is said about God's having created man in His image (60). This, of course, does not mean that God, in all His unconceivable and limitless greatness and glory, can be manifested in a mortal man, Adam (60), but the author seems to understand this in the sense of Sufic pantheism: God, in the forms accessible to man, as through a "veil",[3] gives an opportunity to man to understand, feel, and know His being present in the world. In human form generally this "touch with Divinity" is more intense than anywhere; and in the chosen one, the leader of mankind, this attains a very high degree. Only instead of an ascetic, who by practicing austerities and devotion attains such "union with God", the author admits a specially appointed hereditary and eternal "the True Man", *Mardi Waqt*, who is the focus of the Universe, helping mankind to attain the knowledge of God, the Source and the Ultimate Goal of being.

Quite in agreement with these Sufic theories, the purpose of creation is knowledge of God (52).[4] Man is the most perfect of all creations (52-53, 72), the microcosmos (73, 90); all things are created for him (52).

His nature contains all the elements of the Universe; he develops from the atom, passes through a long evolution, until

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[1] This idea is apparently one of the earliest and most important in Nizari doctrine. The HBBS devotes to it the whole of the second *bâb*, and portions of the fifth *bâb* (pp. 30-31 of the orig. MS.).

[2] Apparently the best formula for this idea is the well-known passage in the Gospels (St. John, I, 18): "No man hath seen God at any time; the only Son, who participates in the Substance of the Father, hath revealed (the knowledge about) Him".

[3] *Hijâb* in this sense is nearer to the idea of "dress" as its purpose seems to be not to hide completely, but only not to expose entirely something sacred to profane gaze.

[4] We must note that the terms *ma'rifat* and *khudâshinâsî*, which are so often used in this work, imply not only merely theoretical knowledge about God's existence, but recognition, and acceptance of all the consequences of such recognition. The English word "knowledge" does not convey the idea completely.

amongst the Ithna-'asharis, or who lived amongst them.[1] The first half of the book deals chiefly with controversial matters, while the second is devoted to dogmatic questions, though both these subjects are not entirely separated from each other.

The controversy, as dealt with by him, assumes a highly acrimonious tone. It is based to a large extent on a rather free interpretation of different verses of the Coran, or on the evidence supplied by tradition, often of purely legendary character. These legends are usually derived from Ithna-'ashari sources, and their exaggerated and excited tone lessens the force of much that is serious and substantial in the Shi'ite claims. It would be quite out of place here to go into the details of these controversial matters, especially as it is impossible at present to separate genuine Ismaili tradition from the Ithna-'ashari point of view, which the author adopts so readily. Accordingly, it is only the dogmatic parts of the treatise, reviewing the basic doctrines of Ismailism, such as those of God, Prophethood, Imamat, etc., which are dealt with here.

1. *God and Creation.*

The KP does not give any real formula of the Ismaili creed. Several times (pp. 14-15, 33, 39) it refers to the usual all-Muhammadan formula of *shahâdat*.[2] It is written on the arches of the Throne of God (*tâqi 'Arsh*) (14, 39); it is symbolized by Paradise, and by the *Ṭûbâ* tree (33). The *Ṭûbâ* is at the same time a symbol for *dhâti Imâm*, or Divine Substance of the Imam (105).

The Coranic verses II, 285 and IV, 135 (which contain the rudimentary creed of Islam, i.e. "believing in God, His Angels, His Books, His Apostles, and the Last Day")[3] are invariably accompanied by an additional explanation that under the expression "the Last Day" the faithful have to understand 'Alî ibn Abî Ṭâlib, i.e. generally the Imams, who are of the same substance as 'Alî, and are always present in this world (8, 23, 41).

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[1] The difference between the tone in which he carries on his controversy with the Ithna-'asharis as compared with the Sunnites, is quite remarkable. There is nothing more than a fairly polite rejection of the belief in the hidden twelfth Imam (22), and a few other matters, which are mentioned.

[2] The formula given on pp. 14-15 obviously is the usual Ithna-'ashari formula, which most probably came in here together with other matters contained in the first *bâb*. The latter, as mentioned above, is derived from Ithna-'ashari sources.

[3] Cf. A. J. Wensinck, "The Muslim Creed", p. 8. Angels are usually explained in Ismaili works as abstract forces, or ideas (cf. the 19th *taṣawwur* of the *Rawḍatu't-taslîm*). Here, in the KP, probably in quotations derived from Ithna-'ashari works, the idea of angel is often taken literally.

b. aṣ-Ṣabbâḥ scarcely differed much from Fatimid dogma.[1] Information derived from Ismaili sources, and preserved by some Persian historians, as in the case of the *Sargudhashti Sayyid-nâ* which was perused in the *Jahân-gushâ* and the *Jâmi'u't-tawârîkh*, represents Sayyid-nâ as strictly observing the rules of the *sharî'at*. So much so that he even executed his own son for such a comparatively trivial offence as drinking wine.[2]

Accordingly, it can only be assumed that the real initiator of the religious reform was Mawlâ-nâ Ḥasan *'alâ dhikri-hi's-salâm*. This conclusion is supported by many quotations from his works, though how far his reform had actually gone, cannot be accurately gauged.

The deplorable scarcity of available Nizari literature,[3] and its amateurish and eclectic character in general, can only be attributed to the disorganization, and later on disappearance of an organized priestly class. Although priests are often a great impediment to the healthy evolution of a nation, yet in a small isolated community, often subjected to persecution, organized priesthood affords the only means of preserving the continuity of religious and cultural life. The Nizari reform contributed to the change from the state of a highly organized church, not dissimilar to that of Catholicism, to a complete democracy under a Divinely appointed hereditary head, the Imam. For the student of Ismaili literature this must be deplored because it deprived the movement of its highly qualified intellectual leading class, thus upsetting the normal evolution of the literature, the ideas, and the ideals of Persian Ismailis, inherited by them from the earlier periods.

The *Kalâmi Pîr*, being a late work, very eclectic in its contents, does not reveal much about the history of the reform, or its real extent. The author of this work which was most probably written more than three hundred years after the introduction of the reform, describes the Nizari doctrine as it was preached in Middle Ages. The value of this work, from the point of view of the student, lies in the greater details which it gives of the Nizari system than are to be found in any other known work of Persian Ismailis.

The work is not concerned with philosophical matters and obviously avoids them. The purpose of the author was apparently twofold : to give the necessary instruction to his co-religionists, and to dispel any possible doubt which might arise in the minds of the sectarians who were chiefly recruited from

[1] Cf. about his works the "Guide", pp. 101-102.

[2] Cf. *Jahân-gushâ*, 68; E. G. Browne, "Lit. Hist. of Persia", vol. II, p. 418.

[3] For what remains now of it see "Guide", pp. 101-117 (omitting No. cxxxv and 665).

scattered through Nizari literature.[1] Perhaps there are also many quotations which are not duly acknowledged. None of their works is so far known in its entirety. It would seem, from the quotations which are known, that the ideas of Ḥasan

p. 11 (orig. MS.), concerning Jesus and Ma'add; p. 20 (rites accompanying the proclamation of the *Qiyâmat*); 26 (love for sanctity); 29 (Turks are Jinns); 30 (see above, the same as KP 92); 35 (commandment to help friends). Most probably some of the quotations, which are simply marked as taken from the *Fuṣûli mubârak*, may also belong to him. For instance, the quotation from these *fuṣûl*, found on p. 59 of the KP (a dispute between a Daylamite and orthodox in Isfahan) literally agrees with a passage in the HBBS, p. 5, line 15 to p. 6, line 2 (of the edition). Thus it seems possible that in reality this is not a quotation from the HBBS, but from the original treatise by Bâbâ Sayyid-nâ. There may be some more quotations from him in the *Faṣl dar shinâkhti Imâm wa Ḥujjat* (Mem. of the As. Soc. of Bengal, vol. VIII, 1922, pp. 13–24), in the *Rauḍatu't-taslîm*, etc. Cf. also the "*four faṣls*" by Bâbâ Sayyid-nâ, referred to by Shahrastani in his *K. al-Milal wa'n-niḥal* (Cureton, 118-9).

[1] The *Fuṣûl*, attributed to Imam Ḥasan *'alâ dhikri-hi's-salâm*, and the isolated quotations from him (*mî-farmâyad* . . . , or some other expression), are much more frequent than those from Bâbâ Sayyid-nâ. In our work there are quotations from his address (*khuṭba*), on pp. 65-66, probably delivered by him on the proclamation of the *Qiyâmat*, followed by a few shorter quotations (p. 66). On p. 63 there is another interesting quotation (about "killing the death"). On p. 90 are given three passages from the *Fuṣûli mubârak* (on "relativity", *iḍâfat*, and on the possibility of seeing God at the *Qiyâmat*). All three are found in the HBBS, pp. 26-27, where they are attributed to him. In the HBBS quotations are found on p. 15 (*Faṣli mubârak*); on p. 16 (from the *khuṭba*, attributed to 'Alî himself, most probably quoted by Mawlâ-nâ), the prophecy about his coming to establish his throne in Egypt, then in Daylam, etc. (cf. also p. 18; also in the 26th *taṣawwur* of the *Rauḍatu't-taslîm*, fol. 112v); p. 18 (about the division of the Imams into groups of ten: *awṣiyâ*, to Taqî Aḥmad; *Imâmân*, to Mawlânâ Nizâr, "who was the 19th or 20th"; and *Qâ'imân*, after him); p. 21, reference to an epistle addressed to Ḥusayn b. 'Abdi'l-Malik (perhaps a son of 'Abdu'l-Malik b. 'Aṭṭâsh ?); 21-22, another epistle, to Qâḍî Mas'ûd; 22, another epistle (*faṣl*), to Amîr Ḥaydar son of Mas'ûd (perhaps the son of the preceding ?); 23, an epistle in Persian (*Faṣl ba-Fârsî*); 23, another quotation, in Arabic; 26-27, as mentioned above, are the same as KP 90; apparently the quotation which is given on p. 28, from a *Faṣli mubârak*, also belongs to Mawlâ-nâ; 30, on *shakhṣi sawâb* and *shakhṣi 'adhâb*; 33, on eternity of union with God at the *Qiyâmat*; apparently to him belong the quotations given on pp. 33 and 35. A very interesting quotation from a *Faṣli Tâzî* (i.e. in Arabic) referring to *his* (Ḥasan's ?) birth, with references to Khudâwand Muḥammad, Khudâwand Ḥasan (i.e. 'Alâ'u'd-dîn and Jalâlu'd-dîn of Alamût ?), and a mention of Ḥasani *kabîr* (i.e. Ḥasan *'alâ dhikri-hi's-salâm* ?). There are many references to him in the *Rauḍatu't-taslîm* (ascribed to Naṣîru'd-dîn Ṭûsî); most probably the latter work contains many quotations from Ḥasan's *fuṣûl*, though it is very difficult to identify them, or to find where such quotations begin and end, as they are not directly acknowledged. Most probably the majority of references to *fuṣûl* in general (without the mention of the name of the author) are in reality quotations from the works of Ḥasan *'alâ dhikri-hi's-salâm*, such as in the *Faṣl dar bayâni shinâkhti Imâm*, mentioned above, and in the *Maṭlûbu'l-mu'minîn* (which is lith. together with the HBBS).

The period of transition can be roughly fixed between the date of the death of Mawlâ-nâ Mustanṣir in 487/1094, and the year 559/1164, when the reformation was already an accomplished fact, and was officially proclaimed in Alamut by Imam Ḥasan *'alâ dhikri-hi's-salâm*. Musta'lian sources (usually quite unreliable when they refer to Nizari affairs) make Mawlâ-nâ Nizâr himself responsible for the reform,—the "objectionable innovations" (*bid'at*).[1] So far as it is possible to ascertain, however, there are no indications in Nizari literature to Nizâr's activity as an author, or to his being the initiator of any special doctrine. Thus it may be safely accepted that he cannot be regarded as the real author of the reform.

Similarly it is somewhat doubtful whether the part of reformer can be entirely ascribed to Ḥasan b. aṣ-Ṣabbâḥ, in spite of the definite allegations of various Persian historians and heresiologists, who are quite conscious of the difference between what they call *ad-da'watu'l-qadîma*, or old Fatimid *da'wat*, and the new religion, *ad-da'watu'l-jadîda*, the reformed school.[2] There are numerous short quotations from the works of Ḥasan b. aṣ-Ṣabbâḥ[3] and from those of Imam Ḥasan *'alâ dhikri-hi's-salâm*,

heresiologists to the earliest Ismailis, and Qarmatians. Such are extremist ideas about the Imams, the idea of cancelling all outward obligatory forms of worship, etc. All these ideas, attributed to early Ismailis, may be in reality transferred by later historians into earlier periods either intentionally, or owing to their carelessness or the lack of the sense of historical perspective. It is, however, highly probable that such extremist tendencies always existed in Ismailism. There are in Fatimid literature traces of the struggle which the official circles had to carry on against them; the case of the split of Druzes, in the beginning of the V/XIth c., shows how serious some of them were.

1 Such allegations are found, e.g. in the treatise composed by al-Âmir (the caliph, 495–524/1101–1131), his *Risālat al-Âmiriyya* (see "Guide", No. 173); after him the same allegations are repeated in various controversial Musta'lian works, and in the *'Uyûnu'l-akhbâr*, by Sayyid-nâ Idrîs (cf. "Guide", No. 258), etc. It may be noted that in the works of Musta'lian authors the term *bid'at* is often used in an amazingly wide sense: any divergence from their opinions concerning the succession not only of the Imams, but also of *dâ'is*, can be regarded by them as *bid'at*.

2 These terms are used by Sharastani, Juwayni, Rashidu'd-din, etc., but apparently never appear in genuine Ismaili works.

3 Nizari authors usually, when speaking about Ismaili works, apply to them not the term *kitâb*, or *risâla*, but *faṣl*, Plur. *fuṣûl*. The *Fuṣûli mubârak* apparently implies the works of specially revered authors, such as the Imams, or great saints, such as Bâbâ Sayyid-nâ. As information about this literature is very scarce, we may review here the quotations which are so far accessible. The largest quotation seems to be the beginning of a commentary, by Bâbâ Sayyid-nâ, on the *Khuṭbatu'l-bayân* (which is attributed to 'Alî ibn Abî Ṭâlib himself), quoted on pp. 79–81 in the present treatise; on p. 92 a quotation from Sayyid-nâ (on *sangi siyâh*) seems to be taken from the HBBS, 30 (or in both cases quoted from one and the same source); on p. 114 (*fitrat* means knowledge of the Prophet and the Imam). Many more quotations are given in the HBBS:

II. The Doctrine of the *Kalâmi Pîr*.

A voluminous monograph would be required to analyse adequately all the ideas which either form the main subject of the *Kalâmi Pîr*, or are referred to in connection with them. The work is extremely unsystematic, probably owing to unskilled remodelling, or to haphazard interpolations. Subjects very often are changed abruptly, or left unfinished; sometimes the author repeats the same matter again and again; at others he deals with some other idea in several different places. Therefore it is not always easy to follow his arguments, or to form at once a complete idea as to what he really intends to convey to his readers. It would be difficult to devise a method for introducing even the minimum of system into the work; perhaps the only way that can be suggested is to rewrite the whole work anew.

As the space here available is limited, it is only possible to offer a few notes on the basic ideas of the *Kalâmi Pîr*, intended to assist the reader. These notes are intended to form a kind of systematized table of contents, giving a survey of what the work contains on each of the fundamental dogmas of Ismailism, with as little comment as possible. For details, and for all secondary matters which the work contains, the reader is referred to the original text, or its translation, which may be perused with the help of the indexes.

So far as it is possible to ascertain, no genuine documents belonging to the transition period between the purely Fatimid and the fully developed Alamuti doctrine have been preserved. The works of the Fatimid period which are still preserved by the Musta'lians of India and the Yaman,[1] will, when carefully studied, probably yield ample information as to the dogmatic basis on which the Nizari reformers started. After the date of these works there is a large gap in our information, and the earliest known Nizari works date from the end of the twelfth c , i.e. from the period a hundred years later. It is therefore not possible to follow how a purely dynastic dispute led to a deep split in the doctrine of the sect, or to find who were the real reformers and initiators of the new ideas. It is not even possible at the present time to determine whether the Nizari reforms were grafted on what was hitherto the perfectly orthodox Fatimid doctrine, or whether the movement was based on the ideas of a local extremist section of Persian Ismailis which till that time remained in obscurity.[2]

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1 For the list of the works belonging to Fatimid literature see W. Ivanow, "A Guide to Ismaili Literature" (Prize Publication Series of the Royal Asiatic Society, No. XIII, London, 1933), especially pp. 29 51.

2 It is a well-known fact that some tenets of the Nizari, i.e. the reformed doctrine are already attributed by different historians and

In order to make the relation between these two versions clear, it may be represented here in tabular form:

(*Unknown Original Version.*)

(It was composed in the end of the IX/XV c., had only six *bâbs*, and was shorter than new versions.)

Haft-bâbi Abû Ishâq.
(The original version was slightly abbreviated, a *bâb* was added from the HBBS, namely the second, which is made the first here. Language modernized.)

Kalâmi Pîr.
(A new *bâb*, containing the story of Nâṣiri Khusraw, is added to the original, together with many quotations from various Ithna-'ashari sources.)

The presence of so many quotations from Ithna-'ashari sources in the *Kalâmi Pîr*, and clear traces of the strong influence of their ideas, can be attributed to different causes. It is possible that the compiler, and especially the final editor, had very few genuine Ismaili works at their disposal, as the Ismaili literature, most probably, was already scarce and difficult to obtain in their time. Another cause may be this: it was a general practice among Persian Ismailis, in modern times, and, most probably in Middle Ages, to send their boys to Ithna-'ashari schools. The Ismaili community, almost exclusively consisting of peasants living in remote corners of their arid country, could not afford to have schools of their own, even if there had been no restrictions and persecutions. Under circumstances such as these, proper education could only be received at the schools of the majority, i.e. of the Ithna-'asharis. It is quite obvious that those boys who received such education would quite involuntarily preserve many of their school ideas during the whole of their lives, and this was most probably the case with the final editor of the *Kalâmi Pîr*.

Once the version was thus "discovered" and introduced to readers as a work of Nâṣiri Khusraw, it was probably never altered, and all copies preserve it in exactly the same condition in which it was left by the last editor. The reverence in which the great ancient *Pîr* was held, guarded it against all attempts at alteration, as well as correction of the gradually accumulating errors and perversions of the text.

reconciliation between these rival Shi'ite sects, the Ismailis and the Ithna-'asharis. The passages which were introduced from the different Ithna-'ashari works change nothing in the Ismaili doctrine, but might be useful to bridge the differences between the two rival religions.

The matter, however, cannot be left here: an examination of the *language* of both these versions shows that the language of the HBAI is, on the whole, more modern than that of the KP.[1] This feature is so pronounced that the question may arise whether the HBAI is a more modern rendition of the KP itself. This is, indeed, quite improbable: it would be necessary to believe that some two hundred years or so ago there was such a critically minded, tactful, and moderate editor who would notice the anachronisms of the version, the exaggerations of its controversial tone, and would draft a new version which would give the substance of the book, without much of its undesirable heterogeneous elements.

The only probable theory which may be suggested is this: both these versions do not represent the original redaction of the treatise. This, most probably, had only six *bâbs*, was compiled not earlier than the end of the IX/XVth c., and was probably more archaic in its contents. It was subsequently revised in Persia, and, in order to bring it into a perfect form, the seventh *bâb* was added at the beginning. To accomplish this the editor added a new *bâb*, which was taken from the *Haft-bâbi Bâbâ Sayyid-nâ*, namely its most important second *bâb*, the language of which was in some places modernized.

Some other editor, perhaps in Central Asia, produced another version by adding to the original (which was to some extent modified), the story of Nâṣiri Khusraw's conversion, references to his authorship, and different other quotations, and this new version came to be described as the work of Nâṣiri Khusraw.

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[1] Here is a specimen of how one and the same sentence is given in these two works. KP (p. 48, line 12): *chunân dar Khudâ mustaghriq shuda bâshand ki juz Khudây-râ hîch na-bînand wa nâ-dânand.* In HBAI: *chunân dar Khudâ'î-yi Khudâ mustaghriq bâshand ki ba-juz Khudâwandi Ta'âlâ kasi digar hîch na-dânand wa na-bînand.* In some places, in Persian translations of the Arabic passages which are quoted here, the language of the KP is much more antiquated than in the HBAI, but it is not easy to find whether the translation belongs to the compiler or is quoted by him together with the Arabic passage. For instance cf. KP (in an omitted passage): *agar û pîsh uftâdî man tâbi'i û shudamî* .... *agar man bar angîkhta na-shudamî* ... (*û*) *bar angîkhta shudî,* etc. In HBAI: *agar û pîsh mi-uftâd nâ-châr bâyad man tâbi'i û shudam* .... *agar man bar angîkhta na-shuda bûdam* ... (*û*) *mî-shud.* In many places (in the second half of the work) the text agrees literally, and yet here and there the HBAI shows traces of modernization of the language. It is difficult to decide how far this tendency belongs to this individual copy only, or is a feature of the work itself.

Nâṣiri Khusraw from the Imams of the Twelvers. He invariably styles Mûsâ Kâẓim, Ḥasan 'Askarî and others as *Imâm*, contrary to the views of the Ismailis. On three different occasions he introduces the quite un-Ismaili conciliatory idea about Mûsâ Kâẓim's being also an Imam, though only a temporary acting one (*mustawda'*), similar to Ḥasan b. 'Alî. He refers to and freely quotes Ithna-'ashari treatises, such as the *Kitâbu't-tawḥîd* of Ibn Bâbûya, the *'Umdatu'ṭ-ṭâlib*, the *Laṭâ'ifu'ṭ-ṭawâ'if* by 'Alî b. Ḥusayn Kâshifî, and apparently several other Ithna-'ashari works, of controversial contents, the titles of which he does not mention. Contrary to what can be observed in old Ismaili literature, mostly produced in Sunnite surroundings, and therefore extremely restrained in its expression of Shi'ite feelings, the tone of the KP strikingly resembles that of Ithna-'ashari literature of the Safawid period. Fierce and prolonged struggle against their Sunnite neighbours inflamed Shi'ite sentiment amongst Persians, so that all restraint in its expression was thrown away.[1] The *Kalâmi Pîr* is also more generous in poetical quotations, than early Ismaili works,—also a sign of a later fashion in literature; these quotations again are in the same ultra-Shi'ite tone of the Safawid period.

The *Haft-bâbi Abû Isḥâq* is more moderate in its tone. Except for the *Laṭâ'ifu'ṭ-ṭawâ'if*, and a few other unidentified works from which quotations are added into the KP, the works that are quoted in these two versions are the same, only in the HBAI these quotations are shorter and "smoother" than in the KP. As mentioned above, the pseudo-autobiographic story of the first *bâb*, and all references to the authorship of Nâṣiri Khusraw are absent here. The only reference to him is contained in a single line which mentions that he travelled to Egypt at the time of al-Mustanṣir bi'l-lâh (I).[2]

Thus the impression is left that the HBAI may be the original version, composed not earlier than the end of the IX/XVth c., but later on, probably towards the middle of the X/XVIth c., under the Safawids, it was remodelled, expanded, and attributed to Nâṣiri Khusraw, for the purposes of *taqiyya*, or, perhaps, out of a sincere desire to bring about a sort of

[1] Though in India Ithna-'asharis always were the chief rivals and opponents of the Nizâris, in Persia, where many extremist Shi'ite ideas are quite common in the masses of the population, amongst the darwishes, different sectarians, etc., the mass of public opinion was always rather favourable and friendly towards the Ismaili community. It seems that persecutions were chiefly engineered either in official circles, or amongst the bigoted clergy, and were based on worldly considerations, encouraged by the hope of impunity, rather than by real religious sentiment. The fact that after 700 years which passed from the fall of Alamut there are still many thousands of Ismailis in Persia proves that the public sympathies were not on the side of the persecutors.

[2] The passage is quoted in the footnote 8 on p. 43 of the Translation.

original, how the difference has appeared, and when and for what purpose it was introduced.

Before taking up this matter it would be as well to give a list of the more important anachronisms in this treatise which must go to show that the work cannot be by Nâṣiri Khusraw:

1. Numerous references to Bâbâ Sayyid-nâ, to some of his works, to the *Qiyâmatu'l-qiyâmât*, etc.,—all of which belong to the beginning and the middle of the VI/XII c.

2. Numerous quotations from the *Haft-bâbi Bâbâ Sayyid-nâ*, which was composed about 596/1200.

3. A reference to the commentary on the *Nahju'l-balâgha*, by 'Umar b. abî'l-Ḥadîd al-Madâ'inî (d. 655/1257).[1]

4. References to Naṣîru'd-dîn Ṭûsî (d. 672/1273), and apparently to his work, the *Rawḍatu't-taslîm*.[2]

5. On p. 22 (text) it is stated that more than five hundred years passed since the last Ithna-'ashari Imam "disappeared" in 260/874, thus indicating the date about 800/1398.

6. Verses of Ḥâfiẓ Shîrâzî are quoted (d. 791/1389).[3]

7. The *'Umdatu'ṭ-ṭâlib (fî nasab âl 'Alî ibn Abî Ṭâlib)*, by Aḥmad b. 'Alî Ibn 'Inaba (d. 825/1422) is referred to on p. 75 (text).[4]

8. Many extracts are given from the *Ṣaḥîfatu'n-nâẓirîn*, by Sayyid Suhrâb (?), who completed it in 857/1453.

9. Imam al-Mustanṣir bi'l-lâh (II), and his son, Salâmu'l-lâh are referred to on p. 67 (text). They flourished, most probably, about the end of the IX/XV c.

10. A quotation is given on p. 44 (text) from the well-known *Laṭâ'ifu't-ṭawâ'if*, composed soon after 933/1527 by 'Alî b. Ḥusayn al-Wâ'iẓ al-Kâshifî (d. *ca.* 939/1533).[5]

The difference between the two versions chiefly consists in their attitude towards the Ithna-'ashari ideas. The author of the *Kalâmi Pîr* seems to be strongly under their influence. In his first *bâb*, apparently entirely derived from the pseudo-autobiography of Nâṣir, which most probably comes from Ithna-'ashari circles, he particularly stresses the supposed descent of

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[1] See p. 37 of the Translation.

[2] Cf. further, p. 71 of the Translation, and footnote 1.

[3] So far it has only been possible to identify one, on p. 73 (text).

[4] In the HBAI the reference is very short; in the KP it is considerably expanded, while the compiler gives some details which do not agree with what is really said in the *'Umda*. See p. 71, note 2.

[5] To these we may add the genealogy of the Imams, given in the end of the third *bâb* (here on pp. 49 52 of the text). It is remarkable that though the text of the KP is usually regarded as "sacrosanct", and therefore unalterable, custom permits every copyist to revise, to correct, and to bring up to date the list of the Imams, thus opening wide the gate for the flood of perversions and mistakes that are in this way introduced. Probably no two copies of this work completely agree in this passage.

and of Shâh Sayyid Nâṣir. The first was published in the same series as the present work, and does not appear to be a work of Bâbâ Sayyid-nâ. The last one, which is the subject of this volume, has nothing to do with "Shâh Sayyid Nâṣir". It may therefore be averred that the third one is likewise wrongly attributed to Abû Isḥâq. Moreover, amongst the faithful some attribute to him quite a different *Haft-bâb*, namely that which is referred to under the name of Bâbâ Sayyid-nâ. It is hopeless to find a way out of this impasse. Every sectarian has his own ideas, and is confident that *his* statement alone is true. Most probably, as it seems, there really are, or at least were, some works which were really the products of these three authors, but it is now impossible to find which is which, and probably the three which we possess now have nothing to do with them.

If we compare our treatise with the *Haft-bâb* of Abû Isḥâq, we find that they differ in some parts, agree more or less in others, and in some portions coincide literally. The first chapter of Abû Isḥâq's work, *dar ithbâti râhi ḥaqq wa ahli bâṭil*, is a literal quotation of the whole of the second *bâb* from the *Haft-bâbi Bâbâ Sayyid-nâ*,[1] thus taking the place of the autobiography of Nâṣir which forms the subject of the first *bâb* in our text. All the other six *bâbs* have the same headings as the *bâbs* in this work, and, from the end of the third, agree more or less literally in both versions. The second *bâb* in our version covers, in different phraseology, the contents of the first and the second *bâbs* in Abû Isḥâq's version.

If we analyse their contents, we can see that some portions of the *Kalâmi Pîr* are omitted in the HBAI,[2] and that these almost invariably are obvious quotations from different works, even when there is no explicit statement to this effect. Some quotations appear in both. Very rarely there are what may be regarded as quotations, which appear in the HBAI, but are not to be found in the KP.[3] Thus there is no doubt that we have here to deal with two different versions of one and the same work. There may arise many questions as to which version is the

[1] In the original the heading is: *dar ma'ni wa bayâni ân-ki 'azza wa 'alâ ba-sûrati khwîshtan abada'l-abadîn bad-în 'âlam zuhûrî dârad*, see pp. 8 14 of the lithographed edition. The heading in the HBAI seems to be doubtful.

[2] Henceforward the following abbreviations are introduced: KP for *Kalâmi Pîr*; HBAI for *Haft-bâbi Abû Isḥâq*, and HBBS for *Haft-bâbi Bâbâ Sayyid-nâ*.

[3] They are usually short, and it is not easy to find when they really begin and where they end. The most important of them, apparently from an old Ismaili source, is the one which gives some details of the ceremony of the proclamation of the *Qiyâmatu'l-qiyâmât* in Alamut by Imam Ḥasan *'alâ dhikri-hi's-salâm*. It is given here in an Appendix (see p. 115), and translated in the footnote on pp. 60-61.

smoothly,—irritating procrastination of the officials, apparent indifference and lack of appreciation of the ambitious and enthusiastic young man, etc., would possibly play not a small part in his unsuccessful visit to Cairo.

It will thus be seen that the story given in the first chapter of the *Kalâmi Pîr* is purely fictitious, from beginning to end, and we may safely reject it.

The same applies to the other details of the first *bâb*. A modest, sober-minded, and clever man, such as Nâsiri Khusraw appears in his genuine works, especially his *Safar-nâma*, would never write such a bombastic, boastful, exaggerated, sentimental, and utterly incoherent account as this, with all these plainly fictitious details about his "900 *tafsîrs*" which he studied, etc., intended to strike the imagination of the reader. Though quite worthless, the first *bâb* is included into this edition only in order not to interfere with the entirety of the work.

3. *Haft-bâbi Abû Isḥâq.*

It was mentioned above that (as far as it was possible to ascertain), different copies of the *Kalâmi Pîr* do not contain real variants.[1] The difference between them is mostly confined to different degree of carelessness with which the copy is transcribed, and the extent to which the Arabic quotations, which are found in the treatise, are perverted. After the text edited here was already printed, I received a Manuscript copy of another Ismaili work which is called *Haft-bâbi Abû Isḥâq*, i.e. "The Book of Seven Chapters" by Abû Isḥâq.[2] A collation of our text with this work gives most interesting results.

Who was this Abû Isḥâq, and when did he live? This remains a mystery, in spite of all efforts to collect information. It is not even certain whether this book is really to be attributed to him. The Central-Asian Ismailis, from whom the original copy was obtained, do not take any interest in such matters. There are, so far as known, at least three works under the designation of *Haft-bâb*:—of Bâbâ Sayyid-nâ, of Abû Isḥâq,

[1] The present edition, as will be shown further on, is based on two MSS, one about 150 and the other 120 years old. Unfortunately, the St. Petersburg copies could not be consulted, either in the original, or in photograph. One of them was brought from Shughnan in 1914 by I. Zaroobin (see W. Ivanow, "Ismaili MSS in the Asiatic Museum of the Russian Academy of Sciences", in the *Bulletin of the Russian Academy of Sciences*, 1917, p. 368), and the other one presented by A. Semenov (see A. Semenov's note on his own collection, in the same *Bulletin* of the Russian Academy, 1918, pp. 2193 2202, where a long quotation is given from the beginning). I. Zaroobin's copy is dated 1321/1904, and Semenov's—1333/1915.

[2] It was most obligingly lent to me by Ḥâjî Mûsâ Khân Mahallâtî, of Poona, to whom I must acknowledge my great gratitude.

produced by the works of Nâṣir, or by personal intercourse. Nâṣir visited Ray on his way to Cairo, but there is no information whether he was ever there again before or after that visit. In any case this influence was not great, and Juwaynî completely ignores it.

The purpose of Ibn 'Aṭṭâsh's sending Ḥasan to Cairo might well be completion of his education, or introduction to the authorities. His visit was not a success. He stayed there only for eighteen months, and was never received by Imam Mustanṣir.[1] Ultimately, serious complications arose, and he was exiled to Maghrib. Only a severe storm at sea in which his ship was wrecked near the Syrian coast gave him the opportunity of returning to Persia, where he arrived in Dhû'l-ḥijja 473/June, 1081.

The *Sargudhasht* explains his failure owing to his pronounced pro-Nizâr views which were objectionable to the all-powerful Commander-in-chief, Afḍal, who supported the candidature of his son-in-law Musta'lî, the younger son of Imam Mustanṣir.

All this seems very doubtful, and must be an anachronism. In 471/1078, when Ḥasan visited Cairo, Musta'lî was only a child, not older than four. Afḍal, obviously, could not have been his father-in-law, and the struggle between the parties of the different princes was scarcely acute. If all the circumstances are considered, it would appear quite probable that there were some other quite prosaic causes for Ḥasan's failure. He was at that time a young man, probably less than thirty, a poor student from remote Persia,[2] and had no influential friends to support his case. In a position like his things rarely go

1 Cf. Browne, *op. cit.*, p. 203, chiefly based on the *Jâmi'u't-tawârikh*, which seems to give more details than the *Jahân-gushâ*. The "jealousy of Musta'lî", referred to there, is an anachronism. The story, given in the same *Jâmi'u't-tawârîkh* (see Browne, *ibid.*, p. 201), about Ḥasan's inquiring from Mustanṣir concerning his successor on the throne, is quite childish and legendary. In Fatimid literature references to these events appear only much later, and are also obviously based not on documents, but on legends. One of these rare references is found in the *Majâlisu'n-nash wa'l-bayân*, by Sayyid-nâ 'Alî b. Muhammad b. al-Walîd, the fifth Yamanite *dâ'î*, who died in 612/1215 at the age of 90 ("Guide," No. 231); in the 124th *majlis* he mentions that "Ibn Ṣabbâḥ" asked Mawlâ-nâ Mustanṣir as to who was to be his successor. Mustanṣir refused to reply (*dafa'a-hu*), promising that he will know in due course. And this was,—the author adds,—before Musta'lî was born. The latter was, according to the majority of historians, eighteen years of age at the time of his ascension to the throne, in 487/1094. According to H. A. R. Gibb (see *Encyclopædia of Islam*, under "Musta'lî"), he was born the 20th Muḥarram 467/16-ix-1074, and thus was just under four years old when Ḥasan arrived in Cairo. This story therefore appears to be a legend, even if we disregard the statement of the *Sargudhasht* about Mustanṣir's not having received Ḥasan, which is probably reliable.

2 In the *Jâmi'u't-tawârîkh* (see Browne, *op. cit.*, p. 201) is mentioned that he travelled disguised as a carpenter.

before he started on his journey. Then it becomes clear why he preferred to travel alone by circuitous routes, why he came to Egypt, was received by the caliph, and probably was really appointed to some post in Khorasan or Badakhshan.

When Nâṣiri Khusraw returned to Balkh after his seven years' absence, on Saturday the 26th Jum. ii, 444/23-x-1052, Bâbâ Sayyid-nâ, i.e. Ḥasan b. aṣ-Ṣabbâḥ, was probably not yet born in his native Ray (an ancient town, not far from the present Tehran). In any case he must have been a mere child.

Though his biography is also only very imperfectly known, there are in it not so many hopelessly blank periods as in the case of Nâṣir. A very interesting account is preserved in the *Ta'rîkhi Jahân-gushâ*, which was completed in 658/1260, by Atâ Malik Juwaynî, a minister to Hulagu, the Mongol. He was officially deputed to prepare a history of that time, and devoted a long account to the Ismailis. His account of Ḥasan b. aṣ-Ṣabbâḥ is based on the *Sargudhashti Sayyid-nâ*, mentioned above. This latter work was also used later on by another minister at the Mongol court, Rashîdu'd-dîn, in his *Jâmi'u't-tawârîkh* (completed about 710/1310).

According to the *Sargudhasht*, Hasan b. as-Sabbâḥ was originally an Ithna-'ashari, but was closely connected with the Ismailis (who were numerous in Ray). His close association with them, especially with one Amîra'i Ḍarrâb, was accompanied by frequent discussions of the Ismaili doctrine. After a severe illness Ḥasan, then a lad of 17, became particularly inclined to adopt Ismailism officially, and probably very soon after was formally converted by a local *dâ'î*, called Mu'min (*Jahân-gushâ*, 70).[1] Apparently soon after this (unfortunately it is not stated how many years or months later), the chief *dâ'î*, or, perhaps, the *ḥujjat* for that part of Persia, Ibn 'Aṭṭâsh,[2] came to Ray in 464/1071–1072. He welcomed the talented new convert, and took much interest in him. In 467/1075 Ḥasan was summoned by him to Isfahan, the residence of Ibn 'Aṭṭâsh, and two years later was sent to Cairo, where he arrived in 471/1078 (*Jahân-gushâ*, 71). In an interesting passage in the *Jâmi'u't-tawârîkh*, mentioned by Browne,[3] which does not appear in the *Jahân-gushâ*, before his conversion Ḥasan was "under the influence of Nâṣiri Khusraw". The passage is very ambiguous and doubtful in many respects, and may be a later addition by someone. The nature of this "influence" is not clear, whether it was

[1] See the facsimile edition by E. Denison Ross, London, 1931.

[2] Aḥmad b. 'Abdi'l-Malik b. 'Aṭṭâsh, often mentioned by different historians, is regarded by modern Ismailis as one of the "*Shuyûkhu'l-jabal*", but never appears in the works belonging to the Fatimid tradition, probably because they generally take very little interest in the affairs of Persia.

[3] See Browne, *op. cit.*, p. 201, and footnote 4.

method of travelling would be far more risky and expensive in his days, for a pilgrim. Then, instead of taking the shortest route, he makes a long detour via Syria and Cairo. The *Safar-nâma* contains no direct indication as to his conversion to Ismailism. But if it is accepted that he was a pious orthodox pilgrim at the beginning of his journey, then it must be admitted that his conversion took place during his peregrinations. Again, he is received by the caliph in Cairo, obviously as an Ismaili. Surely, no ordinary revenue collector from abroad on his pilgrimage would interest the king of a large state, at that time in the zenith of his power. It is also possible to think that he was regarded not as an ordinary Ismaili, but for some reason deserved this high distinction. He was a man of mature age, about 45 years old, at the time of his sudden conversion to what he (if he was orthodox) would regard as a heretical sect. This fact, and these distinctions, within only a short time after his conversion, seem strange. The legend adds that he was appointed by Imam Mustanṣir as a *ḥujjat*, or bishop-resident, of the large and important province of Khorasan. In his own writings there is no explicit indication of this. There is no documentary evidence as to his appointment. This is merely inferred from the fact that in his poems he uses the term "*ḥujjat*" (=proof) as his *nom-de-plume*, probably intended to convey the sense of the "Ismaili bishop". Even if the sectarian tradition is correct (as most probably it is), there is no indication as to whether he really was appointed as a *ḥujjat* on his visit to Cairo, or whether his promotion took place later on. It is known that he was for some time working in Mazandaran,[1] but it is not clear whether this refers to the time before or after his journey. It is probably a fact that he spent the end of his life in Yumgân, in the wilds of the inaccessible hill tract of the Upper Oxus. It would be the most surprising place for the residence of the bishop of such a large *see* as Khorasan, with which he would have to be in constant touch, in case he really had been a *ḥujjat* in charge of it.

An explanation of all these strange facts can be found in the theory that Nâṣiri Khusraw already was an Ismaili, a trusted servant of the *da'wat* in charge of the religious funds,

[1] Cf. Browne, *op. cit.*, p. 225. The *Bayânu'l-adyân*, by the contemporary of Nâṣiri Khusraw, Abû'l-Ma'âlî (wrote in 485/1092), cf. C. Schefer, "Chrestomathie Persane", II, p. 161, attributes the authorship of the *Wajhu'd-dîn* to Nâṣiri Khusraw, who converted to his doctrine many of the people of Tabaristan (i.e. Mazandaran). Unfortunately, he gives no hint as to the date of his activities there. If we accept the hypothesis of his being an Ismaili before his journey to Cairo, which seems quite probable, there is nothing impossible in his having spent a considerable time in Mazandaran, carrying on his propaganda, before he was transferred to his native Khorasan.

by Luṭf-'Alî Beg Âdhar (comp. in 1180/1767). His biography of Nâṣir is based, as he says, on a *risâla*, written by Nâṣir himself. In reality, as shown by H. Ethé and E. G. Browne,[1] it is probably based on earlier *tadhkiras*, such as the *Haft-Iqlîm* (comp. in 1002/1594, by Amîn Râzî), or Taqî Kâshî's *Khulâṣtu'l-ash'âr*, Khûsh-gû's *Safîna*, etc. (these works, unfortunately, still remain in MS., and are not easily accessible). The legends about Nâṣir probably are quite old, because some of them are already recorded in the *Âthâru'l-bilâd* by Qazwînî (middle of the XIIIth c.).[2]

All the data concerning Nâṣir's biography are contained in references found in his own works. So many modern authors have referred to them in their articles on Nâṣiri Khusraw that they may be safely taken as well-known to all interested in Ismailism. It is well-known how insufficient they are to give a complete account of his evolution. Some of these references, when critically examined, are by no means as simple in their implications as they at first appear. For instance, it is not clear whether Nâṣir was an employee in the revenue department, as the well-known sentence in the opening lines of his *Safar-nâma* is taken to imply. This work, just as his *Dîwân*, were obviously intended for the general public as well as for the Ismailis. Accordingly, all references to Ismaili matters were intentionally made vague and ambiguous in order to be understood only by those for whom they were meant. It is possible to understand the sentence in question in the sense that Nâṣir was a collector of the Ismaili religious dues. Further on, his confession about his frivolous life, drunkenness, and then of a sudden "awakening" after a dream, etc., seems too great a contrast with the general tone of his work to be accepted literally, and most probably is a picturesque detail intended for the general reader.

Many details in his further narrative appear very strange when scrutinized. On his journey to Mecca Nâṣir does not join a caravan of pilgrims, as was the usual practice, but goes on his own, accompanied only by his brother and a servant. This

1 See E. G. Browne, "Lit. History of Persia", vol. II, 218. It may be added that in the collection of A. Semenov (see his note in the *Bulletin of the Russian Academy of Sciences*, 1918, pp. 2188 2190) there is a MS., apparently coming from Shughnan, the *Safar-nâma'i Nâṣiri Khusraw*, or simply *Risâla*, which contains the well-known pseudo-biography, and is most probably the *Risâla* "composed by Nâṣir himself", referred to by Luṭf-'Alî Beg, in the *Âtash-kada*. According to A. Semenov, it completely agrees with the story of the first *bâb* of the KP, and adds many silly details, such as Nâṣir's becoming a wazir of the Fatimid caliph, then a wazir of the 'Abbasid caliph, then residing in Alamut, etc. I also heard about this *Safar-nâma* from the sectarians, as also about another work, *Gawhar-rîz*, which describes Nâṣir's travels in Badakhshan.

2 See Browne, *ibid*.

2. *The autobiographical Story of Nâṣiri Khusraw.*

The story of Nâṣir's conversion to Ismailism, after his meeting with Bâbâ Sayyid-nâ, i.e. Ḥasan b. aṣ-Ṣabbâḥ,[1] his visit, in the society of the latter, to the court of Imam Mustanṣir, etc., which forms the contents of the first chapter, comes into conflict with all that is known about the history of the movement, and the biographies of these two great Ismailis. With regard to the chronology of the life of Nâṣiri Khusraw only scanty information is available; but, as it comes from his own works, it is, most probably, reliable. The biographical data of Ḥasan b. Ṣabbâḥ, also very incomplete, come from the *Sargudhashti Sayyid-nâ*, a biographical work, which is now probably lost. It was undoubtedly compiled by an author who knew Sayyid-nâ's life well, and, most probably, based his work, at least partly, on his patron's personal narrative. There is therefore no doubt that the few dates which are preserved in the extracts made by early Persian historians, are, on the whole fairly reliable. These show that the story contained in the first chapter of the *Kalâmi Pîr* is chronologically impossible.

It is significant that this tradition makes *Bâbâ Sayyid-nâ* the senior and more important of the two. Ḥasan b. Ṣabbâḥ was the founder of the Ismaili power in Alamut; he was to a great extent responsible for the reformation of the religious system, was the "Jesus of the Great Resurrection",[2] who "forty years before its advent blew the first trumpet heralding it",[3] etc. On the other hand, for an ordinary Persian Ismaili, Nâṣiri Khusraw was merely a provincial dignitary of a remote and almost fabulous province of Badakhshan, whose real part and works were soon forgotten outside Upper Oxus districts. It is quite intelligible, therefore, why in popular legends Nâṣiri Khusraw, who in reality was something like fifty years older, appears as Ḥasan's junior.

The opening lines of the story given in the first chapter literally agree with the account given in the *Âtash-kada'i Âdhar*, the well-known biographical work on Persian poets,

1 There is not the slightest doubt that Bâbâ Sayyid-nâ, mentioned in this story is the same person as generally known in historical works under the name of Ḥasan b. aṣ-Ṣabbâḥ. The term *Bâbâ* is apparently of Central Asian origin, and probably is borrowed, as many other titles, from Sufic terminology. It is obvious that Ḥasan was referred to simply as Sayyid-nâ already in the Alamut period, as can be seen from the title of his biography: *Sarguzashti Sayyid-nâ*. Therefore "explanations" of some learned Ismailis from Shughnan, who tried to make A. Semenov believe (cf. his paper mentioned above, in the *Bulletin of the Russian Academy of Sciences*, 1918, p. 2197, note 1), that Bâbâ Sayyid-nâ and Ḥasan b. Ṣabbâḥ were two different persons, were one of those fictions which the imaginative Badakhshanis are sometimes fond of inventing.

2 Cf. *Haft-bâbi Bâbâ Sayyid-nâ*, p. 20 (orig. MS.).

3 Cf. *Rawḍatu't-taslîm*, the 26th *taṣawwur* (=JRAS, 1931, p. 561).

It is impossible to find a decisive answer at present. Quite probably, this work, originally composed in Persia, was taken by a pilgrim to Badakhshan, or other Central Asian district where the cult of Nâṣiri Khusraw was very strong. Noticing that the work contained references to Imam Mustanṣir bi'l-lâh,[1] someone "guessed" that the treatise, written in the time of Mawlâ-nâ Mustanṣir, in which the name of the author was not given, must surely have been the work of the famous contemporary of that Imam, the "Shâh Sayyid Nâṣir".[2] Once such a conjecture was made and accepted by others, it is quite possible that the same person, or someone else, who knew the pseudo-autobiography of Nâṣir (which probably was written about the end of the X/XVIth c.), added an extract from it, in the form of the first chapter, which is quite irrelevant in this work.[3]

Possibly the modifications were introduced here for the purpose of *taqiyya*, in order to protect those in whose possession the work might be found by fanatical persecutors: it would be safer to attribute it to the famous ancient saint, who was revered not only by the Ismailis, but also by Sunnites[4] and Ithna-'asharis.

It must be noted that with all this there is no reason to treat the *Kalâmi Pîr* as a "fake". The work obviously was composed by a devoted and highly inspired Ismaili, whose thorough knowledge of his religion is beyond doubt. Whatever was the real reason or purpose of the introduction of the portions connected with Nâṣiri Khusraw's authorship, they do not detract from its importance and value as a genuine document concerning the evolution of Ismailism.

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[1] It must be noted that there were two Imams, both named Mustanṣir bi'l-lâh. The first was the Fatimid caliph of Egypt (427 487/1036 1094), in whose reign Nâṣiri Khusraw travelled to Cairo. The second was an Imam who flourished apparently towards the end of the IX/XVth c. in Persia. From the fact that his name is mentioned jointly with that of Salâmu'l-lâh it is possible to infer that Mustanṣir the Second, and not the First, is referred to here, because it is the Second who had a son, and successor, called Salâmu'l-lâh.

[2] Such references to Mustanṣir bi'l-lâh, obviously the Second, are found on pp. 67 and 103 of the text. Both of them are found in the corresponding places in the *Haft-bâbi Abû Isḥâq*, and thus most probably belong to the original version.

[3] The style of this autobiographical note does not resemble the usual prose biographical accounts, but poetical references to the author, which are found in many long *mathnawî* poems, especially of the later mediæval period, under the headings: "*dar aḥwâli khûd gûyad*", or "*sharḥi ḥâli muṣannif*", etc., in which paragraphs nothing but emotional and "impressionistic" matter is supposed to be proper, just as has been included in the first *bâb*.

[4] At present the tomb of Nâṣiri Khusraw, as I am told, is in charge of Sunnite *khalîfas*, who collect money from pilgrims. Not only Ismailis, but also many Sunnites come to pay homage to the shrine.

of the Great Resurrection, or *Qiyâmatu'l-qiyâmât*, which was proclaimed by Imam Hasan *'alâ dhikri-hi's-salâm* in Alamut, and the worship of the Imam of the time. All this differs from what is found in the genuine works of Nâṣir. In all of these there is no reference to Nizâr, his claims to Imamat, or to the split which arose after his death, because Nâṣir died in his remote Yumgân probably some seven years before the split occurred.

The theory that the work was originally written by Nâṣir, but was subsequently modified and expanded by later editors (unless it is admitted that the treatise was completely rewritten, so that almost nothing of the original was left), thus seems quite unacceptable. Traces of the Fatimid tradition and terminology, found in the *Kalâmi Pîr*, do not permit us to regard them as the "debris" of an original nucleus of the work. On the contrary, they can mostly be traced to different old fashioned works which the compiler perused, probably very indiscriminately, at a late period, when their original implications had already been forgotten.

The theory of such modification also seems highly improbable for other reasons. The present day Ismailis regard the book with great reverence. Surely, he would have been a daring man who would light-heartedly strike out anything from it, or add to it anything of his own, or from others' works.[1] The copies of the *Kalâmi Pîr* that are available, new and old (the oldest so far known being transcribed about 150 years ago), are all identical in their contents, and even contain no real variants. Occasionally the same mistakes are found in different copies, apparently independent of each other, and coming from different localities. This shows that these mistakes were made at an early period, and were then faithfully transferred from one copy to the other. A similar state of things is found with other known works of Nâṣir. A copy of the *Wajhi dîn*, transcribed some 410 years ago, and another one, almost exactly 200 years old, do not differ from the most recent transcripts except in obviously involuntary errors of the copyists.

It may well be asked: how then does it come about that this treatise is alleged to be the work of Nâṣiri Khusraw, and why was the story of his conversion, introduced as the first chapter, added?

[1] Whenever mistakes in the copies of the *Kalâmi Pîr* are pointed out to the Central-Asian Ismailis, and correction is suggested, they appear rather reluctant to alter it. As they say, the book is sacred, and what may appear to our faulty mind as an error, may contain a sea of wisdom behind it. Thus it is not the fault of the copy, but of our own imperfect knowledge and reason; and not to correct the apparent error is better than to correct it, because God only knows what is right. If any inconsistencies or fundamental faults are pointed out to them, they get upset.

Long established religious tradition must always receive the most careful consideration. But such consideration in this case would be misplaced, for it is evident that the trend of ideas of the genuine works of Nâṣiri Khusraw is quite different from that in the *Kalâmi Pîr*. Nâṣiri Khusraw flourished under the Fatimids, and in his *Dîwân* refers to some eminent writers of their time.[1] Though his theories in the *Wajhi dîn* and the *Zâdu'l-musâfirîn* do not completely agree with the purely orthodox Fatimid tradition,[2] this, however, does not imply that Nâṣir belonged to a different school. It is known that long before him, when the Fatimid doctrine was not yet completely crystallized, there were some substantial differences in the ideas preached by different eminent *dâ'îs*. Traces of some of these are still preserved, as in the controversy between Abû Ya'qûb as-Sijzî (d. 331/942), in his work, *Kitâbu'n-nuṣrat*, which is a refutation of the *Kitâbu'l-maḥṣûl*, a work by his colleague, Abû 'Abdi'l-lâh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad an-Nasafî (d. also in the same year, 331/942).[3] But though their differences were serious, they were not so deep as to cause a real split. The later efforts of some eminent Ismaili authors, e.g. Ḥamîdu'd-dîn Aḥmad al-Kirmânî (d. *ca.* 410/1019), who wrote his *Kitâbu'r-riyâḍ*, to reconcile both points of view,[4] indicate that they were not regarded by Ismaili experts of that time as irreconcilable. From the unflattering epithets which Nâṣiri Khusraw bestows on Abû Ya'qûb Sijzî,[5] it is possible to infer that the former probably belonged to the school of the opponents of the latter. This school, most probably, was regarded in official circles as somewhat unorthodox,—this can be seen from the fact that none of Nasafî's works is now preserved by the Ismailis who followed the Fatimid tradition,[6] while about a dozen works by his opponent are still available. But the works of Nâṣir himself, compared with the treatises of his contemporaries in Cairo, show that on the whole he remained closely connected with the main stream of the Ismaili thought of his time.

If we turn to the *Kalâmi Pîr*, as it is at present, we find that its doctrine is the purely Nizârî system, already fully developed, and far removed from the original Fatimid ideas. The principle which here dominates the whole structure is that

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he apparently accepts it, regarding the anachronisms which the KP contains merely as later unauthorised interpolations.

[1] Cf. "Guide to Ismaili Literature", p. 90.

[2] So I was assured by a well-informed Bohora Ismaili, who read these works.

[3] See the "Guide", p. 35.

[4] See *ibid.*, p. 46.

[5] See the *Zâdu'l-musâfirîn*, Berlin, 1922, p. 422.

[6] Even the titles of his works are not preserved at present, and it is doubtful whether he really had many to his credit.

the author of the work is plainly mentioned in the concluding lines of the treatise,[1] and is alluded to in some other passages. In addition to this, the whole of the first chapter is devoted to a supposed autobiographical story of Nâṣir's conversion to Ismailism.

The internal evidence of the work itself shows that all this ought to be rejected as purely fictitious. It establishes the indubitable fact that the real compiler of the work was not, and could not have been Nâṣiri Khusraw, and that the name of the real author, and the exact date at which he compiled the treatise, are unknown.

The grounds for such rejection are : 1. Striking difference in language, which in the present treatise is fairly modern, probably going no further back than the Safawid period, totally differing from the language of the genuine known works of Nâṣiri Khusraw.

2. The presence of numerous glaring anachronisms. Many events, persons, and books are referred to or quoted which only came into existence centuries after the time of Nâṣir. These anachronisms are so numerous that they cannot be entirely attributed to occasional interpolation, and often are closely connected with the basic "fabric" of the work.

3. Great difference in the doctrine. This doctrine is quite different, both in letter and spirit, from that found in the known works of Nâṣiri Khusraw. It came into existence at least a century after his death.

The unsophisticated Ismailis of Central Asia, mostly hill-men inhabiting the inaccessible gorges of the Upper Oxus, who have preserved copies of this treatise, regarding it as one of the most sacred books of their religious literature, firmly believe that this work records the *kalâm*, or the "word", of their ancient *Pîr*, i.e. Nâṣiri Khusraw. When the anachronisms which it contains are demonstrated to them, they try to find an escape in the theory that the original version of the treatise was the work of Nâṣir, but that in the course of time different people have modified it by introducing different alterations, and interpolating extracts from other works.[2]

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that different authors give different dates for his birth and death, varying within very wide limits. The Central-Asian Ismailis, obviously following the pseudo-autobiography, believe that he lived till the age of 140. Though I have seen several Ismailis who have visited the grave of Nâṣiri Khusraw in Yumgân, I never could get from them any definite information as to whether there is any tomb-stone recording the date of his death.

[1] In some MSS this is mentioned also at the beginning of the work, after the usual *ammâ ba'd*.

[2] As may be inferred from different remarks in the note by A. A. Semenov in his description of the Ismaili MSS in his collection (*Bulletin of the Russian Academy of Sciences*, 1918, pp. 2193–2202), he is so much impressed by this story of the Ismailis of the Upper Oxus that

INTRODUCTION.

I. The Author of the Treatise, and the Date of Composition.

1. *The Author is not Nâsiri Khusraw.*

The title of the work here edited and translated, the *Kalâmi Pîr*,[1] and even more explicitly, the *Haft-bâbi Sayyid Nâṣir*, as the treatise is also called, implies the fact that the author is the famous Persian poet, moralist, traveller, philosopher, and the well-known Ismaili missionary, Shâh [2] Sayyid [3] Nâṣir, or, really, Abû Mu'în Nâṣir b. Khusraw Qubâdiyânî, who was born in 394/1004,[4] in the small town of Qubâdiyân, on the Oxus river,[5] and died, most probably, *ca.* 480/1087.[6] That he was

[1] The term *Pir* is used by the Nizâris of Persia, Central Asia, and India as an equivalent of the term *ḥujjat* (in its Nizâri meaning). Very rarely this term is applied to some Ismaili saints who are not considered as *ḥujjats*. This term is obviously derived from Sufic, or rather darwish terminology, and sometimes is used in its original sense by the Ismailis, too, especially in Central Asia. How old this practice is, is difficult to find, but it may have been in existence already in Middle Ages, when it was introduced by the Nizârî missionaries in India. Cf. the heading of the list of *ḥujjats*, published in the "Ismailitica" (*Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1922, p. 66), where this term is also used in the sense of *ḥujjat*.

[2] The honorary title *Shâh* is also of Sufic, or rather of darwish origin. It apparently came into general use about the beginning or middle of the IX/XVth c. According to Dawlatshâh Samarqandi, this title was already added to the name of Nâsiri Khusraw in Badakhshan in his time, i.e. the end of the IX/XVth c. See his *Tadhkiratu'sh-shu'arâ'*, ed. Browne, 1901, p. 64. Normally the title *Shâh* is added by Ismailis only to the names of their Imams, rarely to those of the other saints.

[3] Nizâris of India and Central Asia firmly believe that Naṣiri Khusraw was a Sayyid, i.e. a descendant of 'Ali, through the Ithna-'ashari Imam Mûsâ Kâzim. In all his known genuine works there is no indication of this, and, in fact, it appears only in the pseudo-autobiography which is often referred to here, and which most probably was compiled in some Ithna-'ashari circles not earlier than in the X/XVIth c. In some *tadhkiras* he is called 'Alawi, but obviously in the sense of being the follower of the 'Alids, i.e. a Shi'ite. As I have already suggested in my "Guide to Ismaili Literature" (London, 1933), p. 89, it seems most probable that his being a Sayyid was due to an error,—Sayyid Nâṣir for Sayyid-NĀ Nāṣir. As all high dignitaries of the Fatimid time he probably had the right to the title Sayyid-nâ, and the contraction of these two similarly sounding syllables probably led to his being generally called Sayyid, without- *nâ*.

[4] See Browne, "Lit. Hist. of Persia," vol. II, p. 226.

[5] This is mentioned not only in the *Safar-nâma*, but also in his *Dîwân*, cf. Browne, "Lit. Hist. of Persia", vol. II, p. 221, and the *Dîwân*, Tehran, 1929, p. 297.

[6] Cf. H. Ethé's article on Persian Literature in the "Grundriss d. iranischen Philologie", vol. II, p. 280. It may be recalled, however,

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necessary funds for this work to be published, as well as several others. Two of these belong to an early period, namely *Haft-bâbi Bâbâ Sayyid-nâ* (end of the XIIth c.) and the *Maṭlûbu'l-mu'minin.* The latter is supposed to be a work by Naṣîru'd-dîn Tûsî (first half of the XIIIth c.).[1] Another work, which the Association has published, dates from the middle of the Safawid period (first half of the XVIIth c.), namely the *Dîwân* of an Ismaili poet, Imâm-Qulî of Dizbâd, surnamed Khâkî Khurâsânî[2]; and, ultimately, a modern work, *Risâla dar ḥaqîqati dîn,* by Shihâbu'd-dîn Shâh, which reflects the developments of the later period.

Though there are some more Nizari works known, this small collection represents fairly fully some of the different currents in the evolution of the Nizari doctrine. It will undoubtedly help to the better understanding of this most important movement, which for centuries has always been so badly misunderstood.[3]

In conclusion I have to thank all my friends who have in one way or other helped me in bringing to completion this work, Ismailis just as well as non-Ismailis, and especially the President of the Association, Mr. Ali Mahomed Mecklai, and the Secretary, Mr. Asaf A. A. Fyzee, whose friendly collaboration has been of great value.

W. IVANOW.

The 15th June, 1934.
BOMBAY.

[1] Published both in one volume, No. 2 of the series, Bombay, 1933.
[2] No. 1 of the same series, also Bombay, 1933.
[3] Edited from an autograph copy, as No. 3 in the same series, with an English translation (1933).

and brought into a tolerably satisfactory form, the student is confronted with yet another difficulty, namely, that of finding a publisher for his work: since it is quite obvious that Ismaili treatises owing to their special and limited appeal cannot have a large sale.

Persian literature includes some of the greatest masterpieces not only of Islamic but also of the world's literary inheritance, both as to form and substance. Students accustomed to these high standards may read the mediæval Ismaili works with feelings of some disappointment. They must appear amateurish, unskilled, unpolished, rustic, unsystematic and stylistically imperfect. The very devotion and high religious exaltation breathing from their pages at times detract from their force and value impelling their authors to adopt a rather strained interpretation of certain verses of the Coran and of *hadîths*, little convincing to non-Ismailis, and occasionally even in conflict with Arabic grammar. We may not admire all this, but the peculiar psychological, social, and spiritual conditions in which these works were composed must be taken into account. It must be obvious that the severely persecuted community of the Ismailis in Mediæval Persia could not produce a large body of highly trained theologians such as were available to the orthodox majority, who enjoyed the patronage of the authorities. It seems rather remarkable that there were any men of learning found amongst them. It is quite possible that many of these authors fully realised their limited qualifications for literary work, and it must have been their devotion and sense of duty alone which gave them the courage to embark on compiling their works for the enlightenment of their less advanced co-religionists.

The *Kalâmi Pîr*, which is edited and translated in this volume, possesses all the imperfections mentioned above, together with the usual corruptions of the original text which inevitably occur in the works which are repeatedly copied. Notwithstanding all these drawbacks the *Kalâmi Pîr* is of outstanding importance to the student as it gives the fullest known account of the Nizari doctrine in its purely religious aspect. With the aid of such other treatises as have up to date been published we can now form an idea, based on first hand information, of the doctrine which was preached by the Ismailis of Alamut. We have no longer to depend upon the entirely fanciful and thoroughly adulterated accounts of their doctrine as given by their enemies,—and this, undoubtedly, is a considerable step forward.

Every student of the history and religious evolution of Persia will join us in our feelings of gratitude to the President and members of the Executive Committee of the Islamic Research Association, who, realising the importance of the subject, found the

PREFACE

Intimately connected as it was with the Sufic, and many other religious and intellectual movements in Mediæval Persia, Ismailism forms a very important, although an extremely difficult, problem for research. The repeated and severe persecutions, to which the sect was periodically subjected, not only made the literary activity of the Ismailis practically impossible, but also resulted in an almost total destruction of their earlier religious literature, very little of which now remains. Although the student can on many occasions notice obvious traces of Ismaili influence in the different phenomena of the intellectual evolution of Persia, he can never, or, at best, very rarely find reliable and authentic documents to establish the connection as an indisputable fact.

The accounts of the earlier historians and heresiologists are usually of very limited value. Rarely are their opinions based on genuine original documents; and even when such documents were available, the author's religious prejudices or political animosity invariably prevented him from taking an impartial attitude.[1] For this very reason one of the most important problems of research in the Mediæval culture of Persia is to discover, and, when discovered, to make easily accessible, genuine original works dealing with the doctrine of Persian Ismailism.

Very few works of this kind have, so far, found their way into Western libraries, and from them to the press. Most of those that have are works of Nâṣiri Khusraw. They represent the earlier phase of the doctrine, prevailing under the Fatimids of Egypt. The doctrine of the Nizari branch which is more important from the point of view of the later evolution of Persian thought, is much less known. Such isolated documents as are available demand corroboration and a careful verification of the statements contained in them.

The task of searching for such documents is very difficult, requiring great energy, persistence, patience, expense, much time, and, above all, good luck. Moreover, even when a hitherto unknown work is found, the discovery may not be of any great help, for in the great majority of cases copies of such works are very poor, full of mistakes and perversions of the text. Furthermore, even when such a work is found, and, after all, corrected

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[1] As, for instance in the case of Atâ Malik Juwaynî, the author of the *Ta'rîkhi Jahân-gushâ*, or of Rashîdu'd-dîn, the author of the *Jâmi'u't-tawârîkh.*

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